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NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN NEW YORK.

To the Editors of the Evening Post:

It is the object of this communication to show that it was the policy of the New York statesmen who were the contemporaries and coadjutors of Jefferson, to place the negro, when emancipated, upon the same footing of civil and political rights with the white man. They regarded such a course as the natural and necessary result of the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence. Such a fact, if substantiated, furnishes a most valuable lesson to those who, at Albany and Washington, are engaged in the business of state and national reconstruction, and rearranging the basis of suffrage.

Probably the most distinguished and influential of the statesmen just mentioned were George Clinton and Robert R. Livingston. They were members of the Continental Congress that severed the connection of this country with Great Britain, and Livingston as well as Jefferson was appointed on the committe of five to draft the Declaration. The lasting power and practical wisdom of Clinton are well attested by a simple recital of the honors bestowed upon him. He was seven times elected Governor of New York. Throughout the stormy period of the Revolution, and for a long time afterwards—twenty-one years in all—he administered this exalted trust. Still later he was twice elected Vice-President of the United States, and for more than a quarter of a century he was the undisputed leader in this State of the party which elevated Jefferson and Madison to the Presidency. Let us now turn to Livingston. For a period of twenty-four years he stood at the head of the judiciary in New York, occupying the position of Chancellor. When Jefferson first became President, he offered Livingston the post of Secretary of the Navy, which he declined. Afterwards, at the urgent solicitation of Jefferson, he left the bench and went as ambassador to France, where he undertook and successfully accomplished the task of negotiating the purchase of Louisiana. As a patriot, as a jurist and diplomatist, as the friend of Robert Fulton in his experiments in steam navigation, and as a patron of agriculture and the fine arts, his memory will always be honored.

What, then, did these New York statesmen have to say about the subject of negro suffrage? Fortunately, they have left their opinions upon record, in clear and unmistakable terms, in a document still preserved among the archives at Albany, a copy of which is to be found in full below, after a preliminary statement of the occasion which called it forth.

In March, 1785, a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery passed the legislature. Four years had not then elapsed since the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The object of the bill, and the feeling and spirit which prompted its enactment, were fully expressed in the preamble, which ran as follows:

"Whereas it hath pleased the Almighty Governor of the Universe graciously to rescue us from that state of unconditional submission to which we were doomed by the councils of Great Britain, and to establish us as a people in all the blessings of peace, liberty and independence. And we are called upon by motives of gratitude for our own deliverance, and of benevolence towards our fellow-creatures, to communicate the freedom and happiness which we enjoy as far as circumstances permit. And whereas, the condition of those persons denominated negro and mulatto slaves is degrading to human nature and injurious to society, and cannot, consistently with our own duty and interest, or the spirit of our excellent Constitution, be perpetuated. In order, therefore, to lay a solid foundation, which, in due time, will utterly abolish slavery within this State, be it enacted," etc.

The bill then provided that every person born within this State after its passage "of any negro, mulatto, Indian, mustee, or of any person of any other description whatsoever, commonly reported and deemed a slave," should be taken, deemed and adjudged to all intents and purposes to be free born, but should nevertheless remain in the capacity of an indentured servant with the master or mistress of his or her mother, until the attainment of the age of twenty-five years, if a male, or twenty-two years, if a female. In the next place, such master or mistress was required to cause such servant to be taught to read, and to write a legible hand, and then on their final discharge, to fit them out with good sufficient clothing and a new Bible. The bill contained several articles not necessary here to notice, as they related chiefly to the imposition of penalties for its violation, voluntary manumission, and various other matters of practical detail. It then wound up with the following provisions, to which the attention of the reader is specially directed:

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all negroes and those of any description whatsoever, commonly reputed and deemed slaves, shall forever hereafter have the privilege of being tried by a jury in all capital cases, according to the course of the common law.

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no negro, mulatto, or mustee, shall have a legal vote in any case whatsoever."

This bill never became a *law*. Solely on account of the obnoxious clause just quoted, excluding the colored man from the right of suffrage, it was rejected by the Council of Revision, consisting of Gov. Clinton, Chancellor Livingston and Judge Hobart, of the Supreme Court. This council, under the State Constitution of 1777, then in operation (the present Federal Constitution had not yet been framed), was vested with the veto powers now exercised by the Governor alone. The proceedings of the council and its objections to the bill are given in full as follows:

"CITY OF NEW YORK, March, 21, 1785.—Present, Gov. Clinton; Livingston, Chancellor; Hobart, Justice.—A bill entitled 'An act for the gradual abolition of slavery within this State' was before the Council, which adopted the following objections, reported by Chancellor Livingston, viz:

"1. Because the last clause of the bill enacts that no negro, mulatto or mustee shall have a legal vote in any case whatsoever, which implicatively excludes people of this description from all share in the legislature, and those offices in which a vote may be necessary, as well as from the important privilege of electing those by whom they are to be governed; the bill having in other instances placed the children that shall be born of slaves in the rank of citizens, agreeable both to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, they are as much entitled to all the privileges of citizens; nor can they be deprived of these essential rights without shocking those principles of equal liberty which every page in that Constitution labors to enforce.

"2. Because it holds up a doctrine which is repugnant to the principles on which the United States justify their separation from Great Britain, and either enacts what is wrong, or supposes that those may rightfully be charged with the burdens of government who have no representative share in imposing them.

"3. Because this class of disfranchised and discontented citizens, who, at some future period, may be both numerous and wealthy, may, under the direction of ambitious and factious leaders, become dangerous to the State, and effect the ruin of a Constitution whose benefits they are not permitted to enjoy.

"4. Because the creation of an order of citizens who are to have no legislative or representative share in the government, necessarily lays the foundation of an aristocracy of the most dangerous and malignant kind, rendering power permanent and hereditary in the hands of those persons who deduce their origin through white ancestors only; though these, at some future period, should not amount to a fiftieth part of the people. That this is not a chimerical supposition will be apparent to those who reflect that the term *mustee* is indefinite; that the desire of power will induce those who possess it to exclude competitors by extending it as far as possible; that supposing it to extend to the seventeenth generation, every man will have the blood of many more than two hundred thousand ancestors running in his veins, and that, if any of these should have been colored, his posterity will, by the operation of this law, be disfranchised; so that, if only one-thousandth part of the black inhabitants now in the State intermarry with the white, their posterity will amount to so many millions that it will be difficult to suppose a fiftieth part of the people born within this State two hundred years hence, who may be entitled to share in the benefits which our excellent Constitution intended to secure to every free inhabitant of the State.

"5. Because the last clause of the bill being general, deprives those black, mulatto and mustee citizens, who have heretofore been entitled to a vote, of this essential privilege, and under the idea of political expediency, without their having been charged with any offence, disfranchises them in direct violation of the established rules of justice, against the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and tends to support a doctrine which is inconsistent with the most obvious principles of government, that the legislature may arbitrarily dispose of the dearest rights of their constituents."

These words need no comment. They come down to us from Clinton and Livingston like an oracle from above. To the honest conservative they will serve as a precedent established eighty years ago. To the honest radical they will stand as the reason for the faith that is in him. To the doctrine that negro suffrage is a dangerous innovation, a freak of modern philanthropy, they ought to prove an effectual antidote. To sham Democracy they convey a withering rebuke, administered by those of whom it falsely pretends to be follower and disciple.

H. H.

NASBY ON IMPEACHMENT.

THE IMPEACHMENT QUESTION—MEETING AT THE CORNERS.

POST OFFIS, CONFEDRIT X ROADS,
(Wich is in the Stait uv Kentucky),
February 22, 1868.

Yesterday we receeved the Looisville papers, and I notist into it reports uv mass meetins in Chicago and all over the country favorin impeachment. I felt that the huntid President, denounst and persekootid as he iz, shood at least hev sympathy from one spot—shood at least know that in one place he hed sound and solid friends, who would stand by him in this tryin period uv his eggistence.

I therefore called a meetin uv the Corners, wich wuz held last nite. I okkepied the chair, and made the speech uv the okkasion, wich I alluz do. I remarkt that never in the histry uv the Dimekratic party wuz the clouds lowrin so fritefully over it ez now. I sposed it wuz a fixed fact that the President would be impeeched and removed, makin that hory-headed Ben Wade, who is a profane persekooter uv the saints, President in his stead. Here wuz wat eggsited my alarm for the foocher uv the Dimocracy. It ain't that Johnson iz agoin out. It ain't that I care so very much for him, but the fact that he will certainly be impeeched shows that there iz a pint beyond wich offishel patronage cant control. I see afore me nothin but trouble. Ef Wade is President, the grate moral question is, who will be Postmaster at the Corners? Will Deekin Pogram's paper still continue to pass through the hands uv a sound Constooshnel Dimekrat? or, will that skoffer, Pollock, hand it out? Will I be forced to leve these sylvan retreat, this haven uv rest, and agin, in my old age, buffet the cold world? Good Heavens! The very ijee makes me shudder, and that same shudder will convulse the entire South.

Wat kin we do? Shel the Corners sit idly by, and permit this grate rong to go unrebooked? Iz a President to be deposed and his postmasters endangered for nothin? I am too full for further utterance.

Capt. McPelter, late uv the C. S. A., sed he hed never felt so good sence the Fort Piller affair. Uv coorse A. J. wood resist, and then his sword wood agin leep from its scabbard. In the coz uv sich a Yoonyun ez the President wantid, he felt ez tho he cood go calmly to his death. His sole wuz up and eager for the fray. In sich a coz, he cood gather about him agin all the brave men he led doorin the whole uv the late war, every one uv wich wuz alive and in good health, ceptin one who hed died uv *delirium tremens*. He longed for it to begin. He hed Ablishnists in his mind's eye, wich he wood like to go throo—he knowd uv safe places to cross into Ohio and Ingiany, and uv farms rich in horses. O for a return uv them days.

To ashoor the President and to stiffen his backbone, the follerin dispatches wuz sent:

To the President: The Corners is with yoo. We will, in the comin struggle, take care of the niggers. They hev chattels. How soon shel we begin?

ISAAKER GAVITT.

To A. Johnson: Your friends here are moovin. Be firm and steadfast. I pledge yoo the aid uv every Confedrit sojer in this seckshun.

HUGH MCPELTER,
Late Capt. C. S. A.

To the Chief Magistrate: The people are with yoo. Never permit yoor power to be wrestid from yoo. The Corners will continyoo to speek. In such a coz I am willin to go all I hev.

BASCOM.

To A. Johnson and his Cabinet: Kentucky is troo to yoo. She will uphold yoor hands. Execoot the laws, and ez much uv Congris ez yoo kin. Death to Radikalism and nigger ekality!

A. PENNIBACKER, Jr.

To the President: Will volunteers to aid yoo agin the yoosurpashens uv Congris receeve the same bounty ez the Fedral Government pade doorin the late croosade agin Southern rites? Anser by telegraff, prepade.

ABEL PUNT.

To the President: Send me $10,000 to be yoosed in recrootin men for yoor servis. I pledge yoo the hearty co-operashun uv Kentucky.

NASBY.

Deekin Pogram remarkt that so far ez he wuz personelly concerned, he hed no interest in the matter. Androo Johnson wuz nothin to him, nor wuz he anything to Androo Johnson, but he wuz a beleever in constooshnel liberty. He wantid his niggers back agin, and wat hope wuz there uv that, with that pestiferous Ben. Wade in A. Johnson's seat? He shuddered at the ijee. With a Congris in the hands uv Ablishnists, with a President deeply dyed in Radikalism, how long wood the little remnant uv rites wich Kentucky enjoyed be left her? How long wood it be before we shood be compelled to admit niggers to a ekality with us? How long wood we hold even the slite control uv em we now hev. Why, under sich a rool we mite expect to see, some day, the stars and stripes flaunt in the air at the Corners, and heer Yoonyun speeches made in front uv Bascom's. What chance, he asked, wood there be uv continyoin the struggle agin Congris? Wat earthly hope cood the the first families hev uv perpetoostin ther rool? None. Let us arouse! Let us do suthin! Let us, ez Kentucky allez hez done, resolve. He begged leave to submit the follerin:

Wareas, Androo Johnson, the President uv the Yoonited States, tho not a Dimekrat, is considably neerer thereto than Ben Wade, and

Wareas, He removed from office one Edwin M. Stanton, a bloody-minded Ablishinist, a thing alluz grateful to the Dimekratic heart, and

Wareas, For this act uv jinstis a Rump Congris is at this time engaged in an attempt to depose him,

Wareas, We, the Dimocrisy uv the Confedrit X Roads, feelin a love for the Yoonion burnin britely in our buzzums, and feelin, also, that sed Yoonion is in imminent danger uv utter and entire destruckshen onless the operashens uv an unholy Congris is checked, therefore be it

Resolved, That we look with alarm upon the ackshen uv Congris aimed at our beloved President, and do hereby pertest agin sich ackshen.

Resolved, That we, the Dimocrisy uv the Corners, feelin the need uv decision in this crisis, implore the President to be decided.

Resolved, That we, uv the Corners, respectfully recommend the immejit arrest uv every member uv the Rump Congriss who votes for impeachment, on the ground uv opposin the execushen uv the will uv the Executive, and, also, the removal of Gen. Grant from the office he okkepies, and the appointment in his sted uv sich a Contooshnel Dimekrat ez Gen. Rosso.

Resolved, That ez the Corners is in a state uv continyooal feverish anxiety to know the intenshuns uv His Eggslency, we recommend the holdin uv conversashens with the correspondent uv the New York *Herald* reglerly, at least once per day, till this crisis hez passed.

Resolved, That if need be, to prevent the power uv the government from passin entirely into the hands uv ablishin Congris, we, the Democrisy uv the corners, pledge ourselves, our forchoons and our sacred honor, to maintain the Executive by all the means in our power.

Bascom complained that them resolooshens wasn't strong enuff. Good Lord, he trembled when he thot uv the consekences that wood ensoo ef the President shood be removed. Uv coorse the cheermen uv this meetin would be ousted from his Post-Offis, and wat wood become uv the Corners then? What wood become uv the debt he (the Postmaster) owed him (Bashom)? Wat wood become uv the debts he owed every citizen uv the Corners who hed anything wich could be borrowed or bot on credit? "My God," he remarked, "the Corners wood be rooined."

And realizin myself the awful consekences uv destroyin the hope they wuz livin on, I bustid into teers, at wich they wuz all visably affectid.

Joe Bigler rose, and sed he proposed that this meeting never adjourn, but that it keep in continyooal session, passing resolooshens, that being the entire extent uv aid the President wood git from Kentucky. Ef resolooshens wood do A. J. any good, he wuz in favor uv givin them to him by the yard. Un coorse, ef ther wuz a struggle, Kentucky wood remain nootral. It pays best, ez yoo kin thereby rifle the corpses uv both sides. But, payin no attention to the words uv the scorner, we separatid sadly, waitin further developments.

PETBOLEUM V. NASBY, P. M.,
(Wich is Postmaster.)

IMPEACHMENT.

SPEECH OF HON. W. LAWRENCE,

In the House of Representatives February 24, 1868, on the resolution for the impeachment of the President of the United States.

MR. LAWRENCE, of Ohio.—Mr. Speaker, the resolution upon which we will soon be called to vote declares that the President of the United States should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.

It becomes a solemn duty, therefore, to inquire what the President has done. Has he violated the Constitution or any law of the land?

Fortunately for the country and for us, the question what he has done is one of fact, about which there is no dispute. A brief historical summary will enable us to comprehend this fact—its nature, magnitude, and consequences.

From the formation of the government up to the 2d day of March, 1867, the Cabinet officers of the government, and many others likewise created by law, were appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and held their offices for no fixed term, but indefinitely until removed.

The Constitution had ordained that the President—

Shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint, embassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of Departments.

The President shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.—*Art. 2, Sec. 2.*

The Constitution neither created nor prescribed the term of office of any Cabinet officer, but this was left to Congress, having the Constitutional power—

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers—

meaning those vested in Congress—

and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.—*Art. 1, Sec. 8.*

Congress at an early day by law created various departments of the government with Cabinet officers at their head, but fixed no term of office.

When the First Congress established the Department of Foreign Affairs, the question arose whether its head should be made in terms removable by the President. On one side it was said that the power of removal was vested in the President, either as an executive power or as incident to the power of appointment, while on the other it was maintained that the power of removal, nowhere in terms being conferred on the President, could only be exercised with the assent of the Senate.

The result was not a decision, but what better deserves to be characterized as a compromise or evasion of the question, by the substitution of the words, "to be removable by the President," of the phraseology, "whenever the said principal officer shall be removed by the President, or in any other case of vacancy, the chief clerk shall take charge of the papers," etc.

And so it stands in law. (Act August 7, 1789, sec. 2; 1 U. S. Stat., 50.) From that time, for many years, the President had maintained and exercised as to all civil officers having no fixed terms the power of removal.

The practice had been *when the Senate was not in session* for the President to remove officers at his pleasure, and to issue commissions to new officers, as the Constitution requires, to "expire at the end of the next session" of the Senate.

But *when the Senate was in session* the practice had been for the President, when he desired the removal of an officer, not to issue an order of removal, but to nominate for confirmation to the Senate a new officer to supersede the one in office. The existing officer retained his place until the Senate confirmed the appointment of a successor, which *ipso facto* terminated the right of the incumbent and gave it to the new appointee. In no case had the President ever asserted the right to remove an officer holding by the advice and consent of the Senate except in this mode, that is, with the assent of the Senate. The President had, indeed, claimed that when the Constitution gave him "power to fill up all vacancies that may *happen* during the recess of the Senate" that he might create the vacancy by a removal "during such recess," but never when Congress was in session. The very fact that the Constitution had given the power to fill vacancies "during the recess of the Senate," had always been construed to mean that he might not create or fill vacancies during the session of the Senate without their consent. "*Expressio unius exclusio alterius*" is the maxim of law.

Even this limited power of removal or creating a vacancy during the recess of the Senate was an innovation on the Constitution, which limited appointments in the recess to vacancies which might "happen;" and it was an unfortunate day for the Republic when the "removal" of an officer was regarded as presenting the occasion when a vacancy was said to "happen."

It made a vast army of officers dependent on the President's will, and subverted that freedom of thought essential to a republic. It inaugurated the political heresy that "to the victors belong the spoils of office."

It was contrary to the opinion of the framers of the Constitution.

Hamilton declared that the consent of the Senate would—

Be necessary to *displace* as well as to *appoint* officers.—*Federalist*, No. 77.

But this has been so conclusively shown by the unanswered and unanswerable argument of my learned colleague on the Judiciary Committee [Mr. Williams, of Pennsylvania], in his speech of December 5, 1866, in this House, that I leave the question with that masterly specimen of logic and eloquence.

But whatever views may have prevailed as to the true interpretation of the Constitution, *in the absence of all legislation*, it cannot be doubted that Congress has to regulate by law the subject of appointments, and not only so, a *tenure* or term of office may be prescribed.

Congress has power to and did create the Cabinet and other offices. The power to create carries with it the power to prescribe a term of office.

If, as claimed, the power of removal is an incident of the power of appointment, *a fortiori*, the power to prescribe a term of office is incident to the power to create it. The power to regulate appointments and to prescribe a term falls within the authority of Congress "to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution" the powers of the government. (2 Story on Const., 1537; Marbury *vs.* Madison, 1 Cranch, 155; Com. *ex rel vs.* Bassier, 5 Serg. and Rawle, 457; *ex rel* Heenan, 13 Peters, 230; United States *vs.* Guthrie, 13 Howard.) This power has been repeatedly exercised by Congress with the sanction of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson.

The act of February 25, 1863, creates the office of Comptroller of the Currency, and provides that—

He shall be appointed by the President on the nomination of the Secretary of the Treasury, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall hold his office for the term of five years, unless sooner removed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

A similar provision is carried into the act of June 3, 1864.

The act of July 13, 1866, says:

And no officer in the military or naval service shall, in time of peace, be dismissed from service, except upon and in pursuance of a court-martial to that effect, or in commutation therefor.—*Section 5, Session Laws, 92.*

This was approved by President Johnson.

By the act of August 7, 1789, the power of *removal* was conferred as to the Northwestern Territory. (1 Stat. 53.)

The act of Congress of March 2, 1867, "regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," provides—

SEC. 1. That every person holding any civil office to which he has been appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and every person who shall hereafter be appointed to any such office and shall duly become qualified to act therein, is, and shall be entitled to hold such office until a successor shall have been in like manner appointed and duly qualified, except as herein otherwise provided: *Provided*, That the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, of War, of the Navy, and of the Interior, the Postmaster-General, and the Attorney-General, shall hold their offices respectively for and during the term of the President by whom they have been appointed, and for one month thereafter, subject to removal by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

SEC. 6. That every removal, appointment, or employment, made, had, or exercised contrary to the provisions of this act, and the making, signing, sealing, countersigning, or issuing of any commission or letter of authority for or in respect to any such appointment or employment, shall be deemed, and are hereby declared to be, high misdemeanors, and, upon trial and conviction thereof, every person guilty thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $10,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both said punishments, in the discretion of the court; *Provided*, That the President shall have power to make out and deliver, after the adjournment of the Senate, commissions for all officers whose appointments shall have been made and consented to by the Senate.

The validity of this act has been recognized by the President in hundreds of commissions issued by him to officers to act for a term as prescribed in the law, whereas the former commissions were "during the pleasure of the President." (Impeachment investigation of 1867, page 767.) The form of the commission has been changed to correspond with the new law. It has been recognized in cases of many officers suspended under its provisions and by submitting to the Senate the reasons therefor.

It was recognized when on the 12th August, 1867, the President by virtue of its provisions *suspended* Edwin M. Stanton as Secretary of the Department of War from the exercise of his functions.

It was recognized when on the 12th day of December, 1867, the President sent into the Senate his reasons for so suspending the Secretary of War.

On the 13th day of January, 1868, the Senate refused to concur in such suspension, and refused to consent to the removal of the Secretary of War. The President and all Departments of the government, with his approval, treated the law as valid from that day to the 21st of February, 1868, by recognizing Mr. Stanton as Secretary of War, without question or cavil.

On the 21st February, the President recognized the validity of the law and of the action of the Senate, by addressing Stanton as Secretary of War in the order for his removal. What occurred after this we learn from the following official documents:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, February 21, 1868.

SIR: Gen. Thomas has just delivered to me a copy of the enclosed order, which you will please communicate to the House of Representatives.

E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

Hon. SCHUYLER COLFAX, Speaker House of Representatives.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 21, 1868.

SIR: By virtue of the power and authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, you are hereby removed from office as Secretary for the Department of War, and your functions as such will terminate upon the receipt of this communication.

You will transfer to Brevet Maj.-Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant-General of the Army, who has this day been authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, all records, books, papers, and other public property now in your custody and charge.

Respectfully yours,
ANDREW JOHNSON.

Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 21, 1868.

SIR: Hon. Edwin M. Stanton having been this day removed from office as Secretary for the Department of War, you are hereby authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, and will immediately enter upon the discharge of the duties pertaining to that office.

Mr. Stanton has been instructed to transfer to you all records, books, papers, and other public property intrusted to his charge.

Respectfully yours,
ANDREW JOHNSON.

To Brevet Maj.-Gen. LORENZO THOMAS, Adjutant-General United States Army, Washington, D. C.

Official copy respectfully furnished to Hon. Edwin M. Stanton.

L. THOMAS,
Secretary of War *ad interim*.

On the same day the Senate adopted a resolution and furnished to the President, as follows:

Whereas the Senate have received and considered the communication of the President stating that he had removed Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, and has designated the Adjutant-General of the Army to act as Secretary of war *ad interim*: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate of the United States, That, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, the President has no power to remove the Secretary of War and designate any other officer to perform the duties of that office *ad interim*.

In brief, then, on the 21st day of February, while the Senate was in session, the President, without their advice or consent, undertook to remove the Secretary of War and to appoint an *ad interim* Secretary. If he had power to do these things and did so for a legitimate purpose, he is guiltless.

But if he violated the Constitution or a law made in pursuance thereof in a mode calculated to subvert some fundamental principle of the government, or if he attempted to do so, then he is guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, and is amenable to the power of impeachment.

It has been said that this is a contest over an office, a mere controversy as to who shall be Secretary of War.

Sir, it is a contest to settle a grave principle of the power of Congress to pass the Tenure-of-Office law of March 2, 1867. It is a contest to determine whether every officer of the land, appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, may be turned out of office at the mere whim and caprice of the President. It is a contest to decide whether this government is worse than a monarchy or whether we shall have liberty regulated by law. It is the old contest of the ages between executive usurpation and the rights of the people. It is the contest which has dethroned monarchs and given liberty to the people or enslaved them by establishing despotism. What, then, are the crimes of the President?

They are four in number.

1. He assumed and attempted, in violation of the Constitution, to exercise the power of removing from office the Secretary of War when there was no recess of the Senate, and without their advice or consent.

2. He assumed and attempted to exercise the power of removal in violation of the Tenure-of-Office law.

3. He assumed and attempted to exercise the right to appoint an *ad interim* Secretary of War when no vacancy had arisen in any mode recognized by the Constitution or law.

4. He assumed the unauthorized right to adjudge the Tenure-of-Office law unconstitutional and refused to faithfully execute it, although he is clothed with no judicial power.

The attempt of the President to remove the Secretary of War is not an indictable offence under the Tenure-of-Office law. The articles of impeachment founded on this attempt or the order of removal will show no indictable crime. I have examined that act of Congress critically, and no lawyer will controvert what I say. The signing of a letter of appointment is indictable, but not the issuing of an order of removal. (See section six of the act.) And this shows the absurdity of the claim that no act is impeachable unless indictable. But his conduct constitutes impeachable crimes.

A statement of these crimes, in view of the facts, and the law presented, requires no extended argument.

If the power of removal exists in the President alone when the Senate is in session, it has been hitherto unknown and unexercised. It is a terrible power, and one which would make the President a dictator. In the absence of any law for a temporary or *ad interim* appointment, the President could vacate every office, and leave them vacant until the Senate would accept his nominees, if he may rightfully exercise the imperial power which he now claims.

Sir, it never was intended by the framers of the Constitution that the whole nation was to be made dependent on the imperial rule of one despotic master.

The President's act is a clear violation of the Tenure-of-Office law. It declares that every person holding office with the assent of the Senate shall continue to hold until a successor is appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. By this law the rule of the Constitution, when the Senate is in session, is applied to cases when the Senate is not in session. It makes the same law in both cases.

The President has disregarded this law and said it should not be obeyed. And what is his excuse or pretended justification? It is said he adjudges the law unconstitutional. But I deny his power to do this. By the Constitution all judicial power is vested in the courts (article three), except that judicial power exercised by the Senate in cases of impeachments. He did not appeal to the courts, but took the decision into his own hands, in disregard alike of the law of Congress and of the courts.

It is said the Tenure-of-Office law does not apply to the case of the Secretary of War because he was not appointed by President Johnson. The proviso to the first section is;

That the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, of War, of the Navy, and of the Interior, the Postmaster-General, and the Attorney-General shall hold their offices respectively for and during the term of the President by whom they may have been appointed, and for one month thereafter, subject to removal by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The Secretary of War and of State were appointed by President Lincoln during his first term as President, and have continued in office ever since.

The Postmaster-General, Attorney-General, and Secretary of the Interior were appointed by President Johnson.

When the Tenure-of-Office bill was before Congress the Senate insisted on exempting from its provisions the Cabinet officers. The house insisted on making them subject to its provisions, differing from other officers only in this, that their terms should expire at the end of one month after a President should be elected who did not appoint them. Congress expressly intended that the Secretary of War should not be removable by President Johnson, and the necessity for this was apparent in the known treachery of the President.

It is unreasonable to suppose Congress would leave the President with discretionary powers over this office.

It is said that as President Johnson did not appoint Mr. Stanton that he can be removed at or following the expiration of a month after—

The term of the President by whom he was appointed—

and that President Lincoln's term expired with his death on the 15th April, 1865. But his *term* did not expire then.

The Constitution fixes the term at four years:

He shall hold his office during the term of four years.

Now, whether he hold his office or not, his term is four years' time, and this is the period covered by the Tenure-of-Office law when it says that Cabinet officers shall hold during—

The term of the President by whom they have been appointed.

Any other construction of the proviso involves manifest absurdities. To hold that it does not apply to the Secretary of War is to say that he and the Secretary of State and the Navy, all appointed during President Lincoln's first term, and never reappointed, will continue indefinitely in office, while the Secretary of the Interior, Postmaster-General, and Attorney-General, appointed by President Johnson, will go out of office one month after the term of the next President-elect would begin.

To hold that the proviso applies to some but not all the Cabinet officers is to say that the term of office of every Cabinet officer appointed by President Lincoln expired one month after his decease on the 15th April, 1865, and had the retrospective effect of declaring them not to be officers from May 15, 1865, to March 2, 1867.

The proviso to the first section makes no distinction among Cabinet officers in office when the law was passed. It was not designed so much to protect the appointees of President Johnson as those he did not appoint. It put all on the same footing, and each is to be governed by the same law. As to each we may apply the rule of construction, *noscitur a sociis*.

If the construction contended for be correct, then all the multitude of officers in office when the law passed who had been appointed by President Lincoln are subject to removal by President Johnson in the same manner as the President claims he may remove Mr. Stanton, and this is precisely the evil, among others, the law was designed to prevent.

But if we could palliate the assumption by the President of a judicial power to pass on the constitutionality of the law, and then excuse his motives in its violation, the unheard of usurpation in removing from office in utter disregard of the Constitution, and while the Senate is in session, is without excuse, palliation, or parallel. It is one of the many outrages which we have so patiently borne, which we have so long endured, that the President imagined there was no retribution for any usurpation of which he might be guilty.

In attempting to appoint Lorenzo Thomas *ad interim* Secretary of War, when no vacancy had "happened" in any manner recognized by the Constitution or laws, the President was guilty of a high misdemeanor.

There are only four acts of Congress to which reference has been made in this connection. They are: act August 17, 1789, sec. 2, 1 U. S. Stat., 50; act May 8, 1792, sec. 8, 1 U. S. Stat., 281: act Feb. 13, 1795, sec. 1, 1 U. S. Stat., 415; act Feb. 20, 1863, Sess. Laws, 656.

These provide as follows:

That there shall be in the said Department (of War) an inferior officer, to be appointed by the said principal officer, to be employed therein as he shall deem proper, and to be called the chief clerk in the Department of War, and who, *whenever the said principal officer shall be removed from office by the President of the United States, or in any other case of vacancy*, shall, during such vacancy, have the charge and custody of all records, books, and papers appertaining to the said Department.—*Act, August 2, 1789, sec. 2, 1st U. S. Stat., 50.*

That in case of the *death, absence from the seat of government, or sickness of the* Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, or of the Secretary of the War Department, or of any officer of either of the said Departments whose appointment is not in the head thereof, whereby they cannot perform the duties of their said respective offices, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, in case he shall think it necessary, to authorize any person or persons, at his discretion, to perform the duties of the said respective offices until a successor be appointed, or until such inability or sickness shall cease.—*Act approved May 8, 1792, sec. 8; 1 Laws, 281.*

That in case of vacancy in the office of Secretary of State, or of the Secretary of the Department of War, or of any officer of either of the said Departments, whose appointment is not in the head thereof, whereby they cannot perform the duties of their said respective offices: it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, in case he shall think it necessary, to authorize any person or persons, at his discretion, to perform the duties of the said respective offices until a successor be appointed or such vacancy be filled: *Provided*, that no one vacancy shall be supplied in manner aforesaid *for a longer term than six months.—Act February 13, 1795; United States Statutes, 415.*

SEC. 1. That in case of the death, *resignation*, or absence from the seat of government, or sickness, of the head of any executive Department of the government, or of any officer of either of the said Departments whose appointment is not in the head thereof, whereby they cannot perform the duties of their respective offices, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, in case he shall think it necessary, to authorize the head of any other executive Department, or other officer in either of said Departments whose appointment is vested in the President, at his discretion, to perform the duties of the said respective offices until a successor be appointed, or until such absence or inability by sickness shall cease: *Provided*, That no one vacancy shall be supplied in manner aforesaid for a longer term than six months.

SEC. 2. That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.—12 Sess. Laws, 856. See vol. 42 *Globe*, Part 1., 1860, pages 304; Sen. Jour. of 1860, 1861, 2d Sess., 36th Cong., page 101, January 16, 1861; Message of President Buchanan, January 15, 1861.

The first of these acts confers no *power* of *removal*, but leaves it subject to the Constitution or laws thereafter enacted. The Constitution denies the power of removal during a session of the Senate without their consent, and the Tenure-of-Office law applies the same rule to vacations of the Senate.

There is no "*death*," "*absence*," or "*sickness*" to make a case for an *ad interim* appointment under the act of 1792.

No case of "*vacancy*" is presented under the act of 1795, "whereby they cannot perform the duties of their said respective offices."

There is no "*death*," "*resignation*," or "absence" to make a case under the act of 1863.

It is unnecessary, therefore, to inquire how far these laws remain in force.

The power of suspension independently of the Tenure-of-Office law is one never exercised and is now unauthorized except as prescribed in that statute. In any event the President is guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors.

His crime in the removal of the Secretary of War is magnified by the great principle that underlies it.

It is still more magnified by the manifest purpose to make the military power of the nation subservient to his will.

To accomplish this Sheridan and Sickles have been relieved of commands, and the President has successively tendered the brevet rank of General to Sherman and George H. Thomas. But they spurned the effort to win them over to the purposes of a corrupt President, and rejected his bribes.

The unwavering loyalty and firmness of Stanton, the fidelity of the Army and all its officers, with scarcely more than an exception or two, have saved the nation from some of the meditated crimes of the President, and it only now remains for this House to arraign him before the bar of the Senate. The judicial power of impeachment is higher than Presidents or Courts, and is competent to revise all their decisions and settle forever the fundamental principles of government. The Senate is the sole judge of impeachment crimes, and from its decision there is no appeal. It is the highest court of the nation, and when Presidents and judges seek to overturn the Constitution, its ample jurisdiction may be invoked for the national safety and the public good.

During this debate the question has been to some extent discussed whether the President is liable to arrest, imprisonment, or suspension from office during a trial.

The facts upon which he is now charged are so brief as to require no material delay, and no necessity can arise for arrest, imprisonment, or suspension. Under the power to "make all laws necessary and proper," Congress may undoubtedly declare that the effect of preferring articles shall be to suspend the functions of the accused officer, and provide for arrest and imprisonment. But without this the Senate, as a necessary incident of the power to try the accused, may arrest and imprison.

The English practice sanctions this. It is said by May, in his treatise on the Law, Privileges, etc., of Parliament:

If the accused be a peer, he is attached or retained in custody by order of the House of Lords; if a commoner, he is taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms attending the Commons, by whom he is delivered to the gentleman-usher of the black rod, in whose custody he remains, unless he be admitted to bail by the House of Lords, or otherwise disposed of by their order.—*Chapter 23.*

Woodeson says it was customary for the Commons to request of the Lords that the person impeached—

May be sequestered from his seat in Parliament, or be committed, or that the peers will take order for his appearance, according as the degree of imputation justifies more or less severity.

The Commons demanded that Clarendon be sequestered from Parliament and committed. (6 Howell's State Trials, 395; 11 Howell, 733.) Lord Stafford was sequestered in 1641. (2 Nelson's Collections, 7.)

The Senate of the United States has asserted the same power.

In the matter of the impeachment of Blount it was ordered as follows, July 7, 1797:

That the said William Blount be taken into the custody of the messenger of this House until he shall enter into recognizance himself in the sum of $20,000, with two sufficient sureties in the sum of $10,000 each, to appear and answer such articles of impeachment as may be exhibited against him.

On the 18th of June, 1788, in the Virginia convention, George Mason objected to the pardoning power vested in the President for ordinary crimes. Mr. Madison, in reply, said:

There is one security in this case to which gentlemen may not have adverted: If the President be connected in any suspicious manner with any person, and there be grounds to believe he will shelter him,

changed; the conflict is the same. The question which agitates this entire country is simply this: Shall the colored man possess and enjoy his freedom, and his rights as a man; or shall he be deprived of a portion of such freedom and rights on account of his color? The statement of the question seems sufficient to show its absurdity, and would be so if men were not drunken with power and pride, and thus debased in intellect as well as in heart. Yet such has been the vitiating influence of slavery upon this people, that, to-day, this is the question which their *leaders* are discussing, and before which political parties stand trembling.

The progress of the cause of freedom during the past year has been marked by many events worthy of record. We are yet so unaccustomed to the new order of things that we read with surprise as well as delight the report of public meetings of colored and white men in Savannah, in Charleston and in Columbia, assembled for the purpose of discussing questions of state and national polity. Such meetings have been held in nearly all the Southern States; and the rights of the black man have been formally, if not cheerfully, acknowledged in resolutions and addresses.

Testimony of negroes in a suit where both parties were white has been admitted in court in Virginia for the first time, by virtue of a new law of that State. An important decision by Chief-Justice Chase has set free from a new form of slavery, called apprenticeship, a certain child in Maryland, and thereby established a legal claim to freedom from similar bonds on the part of thousands of other colored children in that State.

In the City of Charleston, the right of colored persons to use the street cars has been decreed and maintained, even in New Orleans colored men sit on a grand jury. But the most cheering indication of progress in the South is found in the character and action of the Conventions called by the people, in accordance with the Reconstruction laws of Congress, for the purpose of forming Constitutions for the Southern States. It is true that the election of the large majorities of loyal delegates to these Conventions was, in many instances, the result of the fact that the white aristocracy, in their pride and anger, refused to vote; but this only insured to the Conventions a higher moral tone, and threw the power of the State, for the hour, into the hands of the friends of the black man's freedom. If these aristocratic rebels should persevere in this manifestation of their dignity a few months longer, the loyal people of those States, white and black, may be able to adopt, by large majorities, Constitutions which shall acknowledge the equal right of all men, without distinction of color, to protection of law, and to citizenship. It seemed a promise for good, as well as a memorable instance of poetic justice, that the Convention of Alabama, composed as it was of judges, lawyers, planters and merchants of the State, members of her former legislatures, officers and privates of the rebel army, and colored men whom all these classes had trampled under their proud feet, held its sessions, day after day, in the very building where, seven years ago, the Confederate Congress sat and announced that slavery was the corner-stone of their new government; and defied the moral sense of the world.

We hail as cheering signs of the times the announcement that the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD is publicly offered for sale in Baltimore and New Orleans; that it goes regularly to these cities, and to Charleston, Richmond, Nashville, Memphis and Mobile; that black men have been appointed to clerkships in the Custom House at New Orleans; that the National Council Union League of America demands "universal manhood suffrage;" and that many presses, both in the North and the South, echo that demand. The music of that old slave-auction bell of Beaufort, which now calls freed children to school, is ringing out a glorious promise for the future. We listen to catch its glad new tones, and while we respond with fervent thanksgiving, there is borne to us along the electric wires, the thrilling message, "Brazil is free!"

Our review of the last year does not furnish so many tokens of progress in the North as we have sometimes been able to record. A victory which, in our last Annual Report, we announced as nearly won, has been accomplished. We rejoice to record the fact that our city is no longer disgraced by the exclusion of her colored citizens from her railway cars. On the 22d of March, 1867, Gov. Geary signed the bill passed by our Legislature, requiring all railroad companies in this State to carry all persons without distinction of color, and imposing a heavy penalty upon any officer or agent of such companies who should require colored persons to occupy any particular seats on account of their complexion. For the honor of Philadelphia, we regret that her religion was too corrupt or too weak to wipe out this blot upon her fame, without the interference of State Legislation. For the honor of Pennsylvania's Judiciary, we regret that the decisions and interpretrations of common law were not sufficient protection for the rights of the weak and helpless; but as the pulpit and the bench failed to enforce this simple justice, we rejoice that the Legislature of the State put its hand to the work, and accomplished it so thoroughly.

We welcome, as a valuable auxiliary to the cause of freedom, the *Morning Post*, a daily paper established in this city within the last year. Its independent attitude towards all political parties, its just and fearless criticism of men and principles, and its brave defence of the rights of the colored man, have elevated it to a moral plane seldom occupied by a daily newspaper.

While we rejoice in every victory won, and promptly hail every new token of coming triumphs, we cannot, ought not to, overlook the fact that the spirit and temper of the Southern rebels has not been changed by their defeat in battle. When they surrendered their cannon to Gen. Grant, they did not surrender their hearts to the just claims of their slaves, nor did they feel or say, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother." Yielding to force which they could no longer resist, they retired from that contest in sullen pride and hate, determined to renew it in another arena, as soon as possible. And they have renewed it, and are carrying it on with the same zeal and persistency and cruelty, the same utter disregard of justice and truth that characterized their slaveholding, and made them, in their treatment of prisoners taken in war, a disgrace to civilization. This spirit and purpose is so plainly known and read of all men that it seems scarcely necessary for us to array facts in its proof.

Already, with unblushing insolence, are they appealing to the Supreme Court of the nation for a decision against the constitutionality of the legislation of Congress, on the ground that they were not participants in it. It has been said, with great truth and force, that "it would be impossible to find another instance in history in which the promoters of an organized rebellion, having appealed to the sword, and suffered decisive defeat, have subsequently been permitted to arraign the authority of the conqueror, and plead, with all the forms of law, for the issues which they had striven to uphold on the battle-field."

They have sternly set themselves to resist all efforts to protect the freedom of the colored man; they not only deny his right to the ballot, but they loudly declare that nothing but military force shall ever induce them to submit to what they call "negro supremacy;" by which they mean the exercise of the suffrage by colored men. Towards those freedmen who attempt to exercise this right, and towards their friends who claim it for them, these rebels "breathe out threatning and slaughter."

The Memphis *Appeal* says:

"The rescue of the South from the utter damnation that seems about to fall upon and overwhelm us all, is only to be effected by restoring the powers of the government to the hands of white men; *and denying to the negro, now and forever, without exception or qualification, the right to vote.* To effect this only do *we* struggle.

"Between us and the black man there can be no other relation than that of patron and client, unless he is fool enough to make himself a danger and a nuisance in the State. If he will keep his proper place we will to the utmost of our power and influence secure to him his freedom and his civil rights, and none shall oppress or make him afraid, if we can prevent it. *If he is not content with that it may be that he will, by and by, have to be content with less;* and if so, he may thank those for it who have misled him.

"To give these ignorant, stupid *sans-culottes* the right to vote in municipal affairs, and to elect the mayors and aldermen of cities, is a union of villany and absurdity so despicable that it would provoke a sardonic smile on the countenance of Beelzebub. *To any who has given them that right we would vote nothing but a halter:* for, compared with it, robbery and murder are laudable acts and meritorious services done the Commonwealth."

The Mobile *Advertiser* says:

"The detestable work of the herd of adventuring scoundrels and ignorant negroes assembled at Montgomery is complete, and the 'abomination of abominations,' as it came from their hands, is to be submitted, in the shape of a monstrous thing named a constitution, to what its fiendish authors call the suffrages of the people."

The Charlottesville (Va.) *Chronicle*, comments thus on the result of the election in that State in October last:

"By Tuesday's work the negroes have set their seal to their doom. There is no longer any peace. The question now is, who shall occupy and rule the territory between forty and thirty-two degrees north latitude—the blacks or the whites?"

The Lynchburg *Virginian*, on the same occasion, utters a similar threat:

"It only remains for the white people of Virginia to look to their interest and labor to protect it. They should concert measures without delay to fill the State with white laborers from the North and from Europe. *They must crowd the negro out.* They must rid the State of an element that will hinder its prosperity; an element that, under the influence of base white demagogues—themselves without property—would tax the property of others to relieve themselves of obligation to educate their children and care for their paupers."

The Lynchburg *News* recommends the persecution of the freedmen of Virginia in the following language:

"We are gratified to learn that one hundred and fifty negroes, employed at the Wythe Iron Mines, all of whom voted the straight-out Radical ticket, were discharged on Tuesday by the owner of the works. This is precisely the step which every employer should take."

The Petersburg (Va.) *Index* joins the merciless hunt, and cries:

"Send them adrift unhesitatingly. Let them learn how unsatisfactory are the husks upon which the Radicals would have them feed. They will soon weary of the diet and then, when they have proved repentance, let them return and be assisted in their efforts to become worthy people. But the offence has been grievous, and the penance should be severe, and the conversion must be proved by works. Until it is established they should be shunned as enemies."

"*Let no man sleep under your roof, break your bread, drink of your cup, who has spoken at the polls in favor of that party which would despoil your house, embitter your crust with slavery, and fill your cup with the poison of humiliation.*"

These are specimens of the teachings of the Southern press, and after reading them we are not surprised when an eye-witness in Alabama writes: "The persecution here is frightful. No Northern men can believe it. You have nothing of the kind by which you can make any comparison." Nor are we greatly astonished by the statement that in the South, "since the surrender in 1865, over eight thousand loyal white and black men have been wantonly murdered, and no efforts made by the civil authorities to arrest and punish the murderers." This spirit of slavery, for such it is, incited a furious mob to assault and attempt to take the life of Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, while he was addressing a meeting of citizens in Mobile.

Of its recent manifestations in Tennessee, Captain Kirk, Commander of a company of State Guards, stationed in Madison county, writing to Gen. Cooper, says: "No union man, black or white, can live here in peace and safety." At Jackson, in that State, a thousand armed men took possession of the polls, on the day of the election in September, drove away the State militia, seized the certificates of the freedmen, overawed the judges of the election, and drove the commissioners from the town.

From Kentucky similar testimony comes. A friend of the colored people writes from Evansville, Indiana, to a religious paper in the North:

"We read, almost daily, of murders, arsons, and robberies perpetrated against the rights of colored persons in the Southern States; but there are outrages perpetrated in the State of Kentucky, of which as yet nothing has been published. I refer to the fact that colored persons, mostly children and youth, *are held as slaves* in that State." "These children are not called slaves (this is an ugly word) but apprentices. To all intents and purposes they are slaves; only they are treated, if possible, with greater cruelty than they were before the war." "All along this Ohio river border are parents whose children are thus held in bondage in Kentucky. Many of the fathers were soldiers in the Union army; and they dare not venture across the river after their children."

Gen. Grant's Report as Secretary of War, stated that "*apprenticeship* in Maryland still holds large numbers of colored children in virtual slavery. The evils and cruelties resulting from this system, sanctioned by the State laws, are matters of constant complaint. As many as two thousand cases have been presented in a single county."

It is to be hoped that the decision of Chief-Justice Chase on one of these cases, which we have cited, will be applied for the emancipation of these "thousands."

In keeping with such manifestations of spirit and purpose, is the law which was passed by the Legislature of Louisiana about a year ago, providing for public schools for white children of the city of Baton Rouge, and enacting that no property within the limits of that city should be taxed for the support of "*any other school.*" These are the people who demand that the Freedmen's Bureau shall be abolished, who persecute to the extent of their power the teachers of the Freedmen's Associations, and who accuse the negro of stupidity and ignorance. But their fear of the power of the North and the increasing intelligence of the negroes of the South, keeps pace with their wrath; and they are already seeking fresh victims for their tyranny when those whom they have so long oppressed shall be wholly rescued from their grasp. The U. S. Vice-Consul at Havana has informed our government that he has reason to believe "that an extensive scheme is on foot for the introduction of Coolie labor in the South." And these wretched creatures have actually been brought from Cuba to New Orleans, and are employed on the plantations of Louisiana.

This record of evidence that our nation is not yet converted to the love of justice, is not wholly confined to the South. There is a long list of outrages on the rights of the colored man, which cannot be attributed to the rage of a defeated army and a conquered people. The people of the North, who owe their victory on the battle-field, and, consequently, their national existence to-day to the aid of their colored soldiery, are guilty of acts of injustice and meanness towards those loyal and magnanimous coadjutors, which we blush to record. During the last year, the voters of Ohio have rejected a State Constitutional Amendment which their Legislature had proposed, which would have given to colored men the power to exercise their right of suffrage. Kansas followed the bad example, and stained her name with the same deed of injustice. New Jersey, by her Legislature, was in advance of both, in adding to her shame by voting to continue the disfranchisement of her colored citizens. The resolution which proposed to establish negro suffrage was defeated by a majority of fifteen members, of whom *thirteen were Republicans.* In the results of the October and November elections, the Republican party reaped a bitter harvest of their own sowing. The ballots which would have saved them from defeat they had, in their pride or their cowardice, withheld from the hands of their colored fellow-citizens. No wonder that a shout of joy and a yell of defiance went up from all Rebeldom in response to the returns of those elections. No wonder that they insulted Ohio and Pennsylvania by congratulating one another that these States "lie between Massachusetts and Louisiana;" and exclaimed, in their joy, "As to the black suffrage question, both parties, Democratic and Radical, met in common accord to wipe it out." And in proportion to the aid and comfort which the results of these elections furnished the rebels in the South, were the difficulties which they placed in the path of her few loyal sons who are struggling to save her from utter ruin, and to secure to her colored population the freedom which she is madly striving to wrest from their eager grasp.

The same spirit which withholds the ballot from the colored man, prompted the cruel decision of Judge Agnew, in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the case of the Philadelphia and West Chester Railroad Company *versus* Mary E. Miles. This decision sustained the Company in forcibly ejecting a colored person from their cars, because she claimed and exercised the same right to choose a seat which is claimed and exercised by white travellers; and refused to occupy a seat designated as proper for colored persons. The opinion delivered by the Judge is equally remarkable for the sophistry by which he endeavors to enforce his decision, and the cruelty with which he taunts our colored citizens with their exclusion from civil and political offices. Happily, the act of our Legislature at its last session (subsequent to the commencement of this suit, which was carried by appeal to our Supreme Court) prevents the recurrence of such judicial wrong; but the odium of this injustice will cling to our Supreme Court, and especially to Judge Agnew, until they shall obliterate its memory by "works meet for repentance."

We notice, with surprise and sorrow, that one or two members of our State Legislature seem to be seeking odious notoriety by proposing the repeal of the law which opened our city cars to the use of the colored people. At the opening of the session, Mr. Wallace, of Clearfield Co., proposed in the Senate, an act repealing the act of March 22, 1867; and at a somewhat later period, Mr. Deise, of Clinton Co., reported to the House, from the Judiciary Committee, the following bill:

"*Be it enacted*, That the act approved March 22d, 1867, entitled 'An act making it an offence to exclude negroes from railroad cars,' is hereby repealed."

This bill was immediately referred back to the Judiciary Committee, by a vote of forty-two ayes (Republican) and thirty-nine nays (Democrats). On the same day, Mr. Deise reported, from the Committee, another bill prohibiting negroes from riding in our cars. Mr. Mann, of Potter Co., stated that "the majority of the Committee had not agreed to the bill; but that the Democrats who were on the Committee had happened to find themselves in power, in consequence of the necessary absence of some of the Republicans." He thought that the bill ought to be recommitted, and this was done. We do not believe that our Legislature will enact this injustice by statute, or that it will withdraw from the victims of a cruel and vulgar prejudice the protection which it extended to them a year ago. For the honor of our State, and for the sake of justice, we call upon them to go forward in the work thus begun, and abolish the odious distinctions of race and color, which are still made in our public schools. It is time that Pennsylvania should cease from the dishonesty and meanness of taxing a portion of her citizens for the support of high schools and schools of other grades to which they are not permitted to send their own children.

This cursory view of the present condition of our country will help us to estimate the dangers which threaten our cause, as well as to mark the triumphs which it has achieved. No one can overlook the danger which confronts the freedman in the determined purpose of his quondam master to reduce him to some form of slavery; for this is an obvious peril, though by no means the greatest. The combatants, defeated on Southern battle-fields and put to flight at Gettysburg, might be easily vanquished in the new arena where they have marshalled their forces, if the zeal and courage of the whole North would oppose to them as solid a front now as it did then. Nor in that case should we be much alarmed by the rebellious spirit of the Border States, displayed in Maryland's demand for compensation for her slaves, and Delaware's veto (uttered through her Supreme Court) of the Civil Rights bill of the last Congress, and Kentucky's heavy majorities in favor of the enemies of freedom. The exorcism of the demon of slavery is necessarily attended by struggles such as these.

But there are other dangers which, perhaps, we did not anticipate, and which we must calmly look in the face. One of these is the action and present attitude of the Supreme Court of the United States. The decision of the Chief-Justice, in April last, which recognized the rights of States which had rebelled and seceded from the Federal government, to enter suits as States before that Court, alarmed all thoughtful friends of freedom. From present indications there is reason to fear that this Court, if not prevented by Congress, will be induced by Andrew Johnson to declare the Reconstruction laws of that body unconstitutional. Another source of danger to our cause and our country is the defection from high principle and the timidity of the Republican party. The comment of the venerable Thaddeus Stevens upon the results of the Fall elections, was: "The Republicans have been acting a most cowardly part, and have met a coward's fate." It seems as though a moderate degree of intelligence was sufficient to convince that party that its strength lay in its fidelity to the rights of the colored man, and that no course could be so nearly fatal to itself as the attempt to occupy a neutral position, or to adopt half-way measures, relative to the question which is agitating the whole country. Yet, notwithstanding the entreaties of their Southern allies, that they would not fail to secure the establishment of equal political rights throughout the Union; notwithstanding the earnest warnings of some of the most prominent members of the party, that they would be defeated on any other platform, and the pathetic appeals for justice from the colored defenders of the nation's life, the majority of the party have shrunk from boldly meeting this issue. The Union Legue of this city contents itself with admitting the necessity of negro suffrage in the South, and lacks either the justice or the courage to demand it for the colored man of the North. The apparent willingness of the party to nominate for the Presidency a man whose moral and political principles are almost unknown, because he is regarded as an available candidate, is an indication of moral weakness, which is severely rebuked by the noble reply of the colored men in Virginia to an agent of the Republican Congressional Committee, who endeavored to convince them that if they voted for a certain Radical candidate they would suffer defeat: "We will take defeat with this man rather than victory with a man we cannot trust." The party might have learned a valuable lesson from the result of the election in Tennessee, last Summer, when they triumphed by the aid of the votes of freedmen, whom no threats could terrify, and no bribes or flatteries win to the opposite party. But as only honest men learn that "honesty is the best policy," so only just men learn that justice is the highest expediency.

The proceedings of the XLth Congress thus far enable us to form an estimate of the moral strength of the leaders of the Republican party, and consequently of the degree of confidence which Abolitionists may safely repose in them. At the date of our last Annual Report we were looking, hopefully and anxiously, for such prompt and efficient action from this body as should correct the mistakes and supply the deficiencies of the XXXIXth Congress. Especially did we, in common with a large part of the nation, look to them to impeach and depose the traitor President, Andrew Johnson. They assembled and adjourned twice before the Judiciary Committee of the House, to whom was referred the duty of examining the charges on which Mr. Ashley had impeached the President, were ready to make their report. On the 25th of November that Committee reported that, in their opinion, Andrew Johnson was "guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors," and ought to be impeached by the House. After long and earnest discussion, during which his violations of law, his defiance of the authority of Congress, and his active sympathy with rebels against the government, were clearly set forth, the vote of the House was taken, on the 7th of December, upon the question of his impeachment, and the result was, ayes 57, nays 108, sixty-five Republicans voting in the negative.

Thus, after a long and spirited conflict with the President, consisting of rigid legislation on one side, responded to by vetoes on the other; laws promptly enacted over his vetoes, and met by his obstinate refusal to execute them; arrogant and insolent threats from the Executive, and much brave talking by the legislators, Congress surrendered to Andrew Johnson. What defence those sixty-five Republicans have to offer for this cowardly betrayal of a people's trust the nation waits to hear. For any defence which will satisfy hearts loyal to freedom, it will wait in vain. Those members of Congress who zealously advocated the impeachment of the President, and earnestly labored to accomplish it, will be remembered and honored as true patriots, who scorned to sacrifice their country's prosperity to schemes of personal ambition or party success.

Much of the legislation of the XLth Congress has been eminently favorable to freedom, and that fact excited hope that that body would not fail to provide for the execution of its laws. Very early in its first session a joint resolution was passed by both Houses suspending all proceedings in reference to payment for slaves drafted or received as volunteers in the military service of the United States. In July, a bill providing that persons in the District of Columbia shall be eligible to office, without distinction of race or color, was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Sumner, was passed by both Houses, and sent to the President for his signature. Within the next ten days Congress adjourned, and the bill thus failed to become a law. On the 21st of November, the first day of the present session, Mr. Sumner asked leave to introduce an exact copy of this bill, and in December it was again passed by both Houses. The adjournment for the holidays left this unfortunate bill again in the President's pocket; and when the Senate reassembled the question whether or not it had become a law by the President's failure to return it, was referred to the Judiciary Committee, and has not yet been answered.

In March, 1867, a bill was passed by large majorities in both Houses, providing for the election of delegates to Conventions to be held in the South, for the purpose of forming State Constitutions. This bill required that all male citizens of the United States over twenty-one years of age should be registered as voters for such delegates, in their respective counties or parishes. The President, true to his rebel sympathies, vetoed this bill, and it immediately became a law by the requisite two-thirds majorities in both Houses. In July another Supplementary Reconstruction bill, of great importance, was passed, which received from Andrew Johnson the same characteristic response, and by the prompt action of Congress became a law in the usual way. This bill invested the General of the U. S. Army with all powers of suspension, removal, appointment and detail of all civil and military officers in the disloyal States; and gave the same authority (subject to the approval of the General) to District Commanders. In December the House, in response to that portion of the President's Message which recommended the repeal of the Reconstruction laws, passed a resolution affirming their necessity, and pledging itself never "to take one retrograde step from its advanced position in promoting the cause of equal rights, nor to deviate from its fixed purpose of protecting all men as equal before the law." In January, 1868, the Reconstruction Committee reported, and the House adopted, another bill limiting the power of the President, and requiring the General of the Army to enforce all the provisions of the Reconstruction laws. This bill is now pending in the Senate. Still more radical measures have been proposed in Congress, and attempts made to secure the freedom of the colored man from the violence or cunning of his enemies, by the protection of the Federal Constitution. Resolutions and a bill have been introduced and referred to the Judiciary Committees, proposing an amendment to the U. S. Constitution, which should declare that all *persons* born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the States wherein they reside, and making all such citizens electors.

Thus has Congress sought to fetter by legislation the power of the President as much as possible. A far wiser and more manly course would have been to impeach and depose him, and thus relieve the nation, wholly and forever, from his treasonable machinations. All their vigilance ingenuity and will fail to counteract wholly his evil influence; for, while he is permitted to occupy the office of President, the Constitution of the United States makes it impossible for Congress to legislate him out of power.

Thus far, the XLth, like the XXXIXth Congress, has failed to perform the important work which the nation had a right to expect from it. It has neither deposed Andrew Johnson,* nor adopted a proposed Amendment to the Federal Constitution securing the freedom of the colored man of the South, by establishing his right of suffrage. All that it has done by legislation may be undone if it shall be left unsecured by the constitutional seal. Its record is not yet complete; and we will hope that before its adjournment it will do this deed of justice to the millions of our freedmen, and win the benediction of all true friends of liberty.

During the past year twenty-one States have ratified the Constitutional Amendment noticed in our last report, which provides for the reduction of the basis of representation, in any State, in proportion to the number of male citizens over twenty-one years of age, who shall be denied the right of suffrage by the State; and on the 11th of January, a resolution declaring this Amendment valid was introduced in the Senate, and referred to the Judiciary Committee.

It is due to the colored people of the South that we should record the fact that, during this transition period from slavery to freedom, their conduct has been marked by wisdom and patience which was scarcely to be expected from a long-enslaved people. All that the persecutions, the taunts, and the predictions of their enemies could do to provoke them to violence, was done, but to the disappointment of fierce Southern editors who had reiterated their loud alarms, the uprisings never came, and the victims of their hate patiently wait and trust that the government will do them justice. Abundant testimony in their favor is borne by impartial witnesses in the South, by Judge Underwood in Virginia, and Judge Fraser in Florida, the latter of whom testifies to the admirable manner [in which some of these newly-emancipated slaves performed the duties of jurymen. With unswerving fidelity they have cast their votes (when allowed to use the ballot) for the true friends of freedom, unawed by threats and unseduced by bribes, which were freely used to win their votes for the opposing candidates, or to deter them from casting them in favor of their friends. Thus they have fully disproved the charge that they had not sufficient intelligence to discern between the claims of opposing candidates. We have the testimony of the officers of the Freedmen's Bureau, that the majority of the recipients of their bounty are not colored persons. It is a rare thing for a President of the United States to bestow honors or offices upon men of the proscribed complexion. But when Andrew Johnson offered the position of Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau to three Northern colored men, successively, they instantly fathomed his motive, and scorned to become his tools.

Our annual retrospect and inquiry into the present condition of our great cause necessarily leads us to the contemplation of the work before us. The gigantic system of American slavery, which laid its foundations so deep and reared its battlements so high that it defied the moral forces of the nineteenth century, has been overthrown by those forces, amidst the convulsions of war; and beneath its mighty ruins the Republic is struggling for its life, and the freedmen for the full realization and security of their freedom. The spirit of slavery still lives in our land, and wages a fierce conflict with the spirit of liberty. On the side of the former are the disappointed rebels of the South and the Democratic party of the North. On the side of the latter are all the hearts that beat in sympathy with justice, all the noble instincts of humanity, all the strength which inheres in a righteous cause. The contest may be fierce and long, but who can doubt the result? There is little danger that slavery, by its true name, can ever be restored in this nation. The North would spring to arms to prevent that; the South is too sagacious to attempt it. And if the Anti-Slavery men and women of the country stand faithfully at their posts, and vigilantly perform their duty, the frantic efforts to restore it under other names, and to rob the freedmen of the very essence of his freedom, which now convulse the South, will be utterly defeated, and the world shall behold the American slave standing up a MAN, full-panoplied with all the defences of an American citizen.

The contest will not cease, and our work will not be done, until his freedom is thus established and secured beyond peril. All theories of reconstruction which fail to provide for this, will fail to secure peace for the nation. The true Christian, the true patriot, must demand without ceasing that the black man's right to defend his freedom by the ballot shall be secured to him by the Federal Constitution, and not left to the poor protection of the laws or constitutions of the restored rebel States. One of the great daily journals of the North—a newspaper which, from the commencement of the Anti-Slavery enterprise manifested an intense hatred to it, and which annually used to supply inspiration to the mobs which assaulted our meetings—has recently renewed the old cry that politics do not belong to the pulpit. No true minister of the Gospel, in the pulpit or out, will be moved by the adjurations or frightened by the ridicule of such editors. When it is a portion of a nation's politics to oppress a large portion of its citizens, it is the especial duty of *Christian* ministers to cry aloud in rebuke of such wrong. In a country where the people compose both the church and the government, if they do not inspire their politics with their religion, they are unfaithful to their religion; and if such inspiration does not exorcise the iniquity of oppressing the weak, their religion is of little worth.

In pursuance of our work which events so clearly mark out for us, we use and trust our old instrumentalities. We seek to promote a correct public sentiment, and inspire zeal for righteousness in the hearts of the people, by publishing and proclaiming the truth, and the just demands of the colored man. Our chief agency in the work is the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, to sustain and circulate which our labors are principally devoted. Of the copies of this journal which we have circulated during the past year, a large number have been sent to Southern men, and to teachers of the freedmen. We receive frequent testimonies to the value and usefulness of the paper, from persons to whom it is sent.

The Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Festival, held under the direction of our own and the State Society, was a pleasant and profitable reunion of Abolitionists, and it resulted in pecuniary success.

To all who are working, in our own or other fields, heartily and faithfully, to complete the enfranchisement and promote the elevation of the millions for whom we labor, we cordially extend our fraternal greeting. In the work which remains to be done we press hopefully forward, encouraged by the rich experience of the past, the trophies of glorious victories all around us, and the brightness with which faith gilds the future. At the close of each year we mark the vacant places which the death angel has made in our ranks. Of our own members, the oldest* and the youngest have passed away since our last anniversary. One whose fidelity to anti-slavery principles, and unabated interest in them, even in extreme age, will long be remembered by those who knew her well; and one who craved the privilege of laying a child's offering on the altar of the slave's freedom. And the year has borne away from us three faithful coadjutors who witnessed the inauguration of our enterprise, and who, at nearly fourscore years of age, stood honored patriarchs in our ranks.† The memory of their disinterested and untiring labors for humanity are their monuments in our hearts. By the death of one of these veterans of our host,‡ the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has lost its beloved and venerated President, with whose presence and counsels it has been blessed for so many years. The summons of his Lord found him at his post of duty, and he received it as a welcome to his home. While we deeply mourn our loss, we will cherish the great bequest of his Christian example. Of him it shall be remembered that, when the flying slave was hunted through our streets, his doors were ever open to shelter the poor outcast from sympathy; that when the cupidity of the market-place and the cowardice of the Church suffered Pennsylvania to be the hunting-ground of kidnappers, he was always found, steadfast and brave, by the side of the helpless victim, an earnest champion and sympathising friend. To his large heart human suffering never appealed in vain. To his quick sense of justice the sophistry of wrong was clearly exposed, and in his presence selfishness and meanness stood abashed. Walking in his steps, it is ours to finish the work which he began and faithfully continued. The hour of its consummation, we trust, is at hand. Then shall mingle with the last notes of our jubilee song, fervent thanksgivings that upon us was bestowed the high privilege of being workers in the grandest moral reform of the nineteenth century.

* Since this Report was presented, Andrew Johnson has been impeached by the House of Representatives.

* Mrs. Elizabeth Le B. Wright.
† James Mott, Isaac Winslow, Jacob Peirce.
‡ James Mott.

Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in Account with ANNIE SHOEMAKER, *Treasurer.*

2d mo., 1867. DR.

To Subscription to NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD (50 copies)	$150 00
" Donation to Pennsylvania A. S. Society	100 00
" Rent of room for Annual Meeting	2 00
" Rent of room for Stated Meetings	9 00
" Printing Annual Report	47 75
" Advertising Annual Meeting	3 40
" Expenses of Festival, 1st mo., 1867	8 00
2d mo., 1868. Balance in Treasury	318 06
Total	$638 21

2d mo., 1867. CR.

By Balance in Treasury	$408 21
" Members' Subscriptions	71 00
" Contribution from M. L. D.	4 00
" Festival of 1st mo., 1867	5 00
" *Festival of 11th mo., 1867	150 00
Total	$638 21

The officers for the ensuing year are:

President—LUCRETIA MOTT.
Vice-President—SIDNEY ANN LEWIS.
Recording Secretary—GULIELMA JONES.
Corresponding Secretary—MARY GREW.
Treasurer—ANNIE SHOEMAKER.
Board of Managers—LUCRETIA MOTT, ANNA M. HOPPER, REBECCA S. HART, HANNAH L. STICKNEY, SARAH H. PIERCE, ROSANNAH THOMPSON.

* The Festival was held under the joint auspices of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society and the Female Anti-Slavery Society; the greater part of the proceeds were given directly to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 21, 1868.

The National Anti-Slavery Standard

FOR 1868.

PREMIUMS.

We offer our friends what we are sure will be esteemed very liberal and welcome compensation for their efforts to add to our subscription list, namely: to old subscribers who renew their subscriptions and send one new subscriber for the year ($6); or to any who will send two new subscribers ($6) we will send either of the following very desirable books:

Wendell Phillips' "Speeches, Lectures and Letters." 562 pages, with steel portrait—price $2.50.

Lydia Maria Child's "Romance of the Republic." 442 pages—price $2.50.

Caroline H. Dall's "College, Market and Court. 498 pages—price $2.50.

POLITICAL INFATUATION.

CHIEF-JUSTICE CHASE, there seems to be good reason to believe, is ready, or preparing himself to accept an offer of a nomination for the Presidency from the Democratic party. A few months ago, such a supposition would have seemed in the last degree improbable.

It is well known among Mr. Chase's friends, that he cherishes a most ardent desire to be President. The adverse result of the Ohio election last Autumn was without doubt as severe a disappointment to Mr. Chase as it was damaging to his prospects, as an available candidate, for a Radical nomination. It will be remembered that since that date, the country has heard little or nothing from him of a pronounced character in the way of Radical opinion. On the contrary, immediately following the defeat of negro suffrage in Ohio, a leading journal of that State, a recognized mouth-piece of Mr. Chase, speaking apparently by authority, came out with a declaration, which attracted general attention, implying that the Chief-Justice was, and always had been really a "Conservative." His unfriendly feeling towards Mr. Wade, and jealousy of him, is well understood. No very tangible evidence of the disposition of Mr. Chase to seek from the Democrats the coveted Presidential nomination which, from untoward events, he was not likely to get from Republicans, appear to the public view prior to his recent letter to the Senate. That letter, we know, has been regarded by many who have hitherto been warm friends of Mr. Chase, as alike impertinent and untimely. The conviction prevails that its real purpose was ulterior and foreign to that for which ostensibly it was written. As a natural sequence, we get assurances now from Washington, not only from our own vigilant and sagacious correspondents, but through numerous other channels, that if the Democratic managers are willing, Mr. Chase is open to proposals from them for a Presidential nomination in their Convention, to be held in this city, on the fourth of July next.

That such a movement on the part of Mr. Chase to gain the office to which he ardently aspires will profit him nothing, is too plain to need argument. It is said that he seceded from the Democracy originally on account of slavery, that that issue is disposed of, and that he may, therefore, consort again with Democrats. The politician who accepts that conclusion, and shapes his plans accordingly, will find himself mistaken and sorely disappointed. The vital question still in issue in national politics is, What shall be the political status of the colored race? It is not now, as formerly, whether there shall be slave-hunting or not, extension or non-extension of slavery, but whether the question of color shall be entirely eliminated from our politics by recognizing all men everywhere as equal before the law. There are leading, intelligent men in the Democratic party who would undoubtedly be glad to make a "new departure," and supplant Republicans, by bringing their party at once fully and squarely upon this tenable and truly democratic ground. The editor of the New York *World* is probably one of this number. But their misfortune is that they have for their constituents so large a proportion of the negro-hating, whiskey-drinking, "unwashed" voters, that such a change of base is practically impossible. Nor will the name of Mr. Chase, or the favorable reputation he has won among the blacks of the South, materially alter the case. If he counts upon Democratic support with a distinct claim for equal political rights for the negro, he will reckon without his host. If, on the other hand, in going over to the Democrats, he supposes he can afford to disregard the negro question as no longer in issue, he will simply complete a disgraced and dishonored trinity with Seward and Webster, by whose examples, still fresh in view, he should have been warned.

Congress has the opportunity to determine substantially the character of the Chicago platform before the Convention shall assemble, by its own legislation. We urge that it pass at the earliest practicable date a National Suffrage law which shall forbid in every State and Territory of the Union all proscription of persons otherwise entitled to vote, on account of color. The votes of the colored men thus enfranchised at the North, as well as guaranteed at the South, will be a substantial gain of many thousands against the negro-hating Democracy next Autumn. The issue will then be so direct that whoever the candidate may be at Chicago he must, if he accepts the platform, do the work which the hour demands. A failure to cover this ground properly will put it in the power of a Chase-defection, with intriguing Democrats, to do much mischief for which, with unequivocal Radical legislation in Congress, and an outspoken platform at Chicago, they will be powerless.

THE action of the Senate as a Court of Impeachment on the 13th inst., in refusing to grant the long delay asked for by Johnson's counsel has

been as welcome to the country as it was probably unexpected to the President. We regret that the usurper is not likely to be suspended from office during his trial. We hope all unnecessary delay may be resisted, as on Friday, and that Mr. Wade will be duly installed in Executive Chair ere the month of April has passed. Mr. Johnson threatens to once more "swing around the circle," with his appeal to the people. He may do that, if he likes as "an humble individual," but never again we trust, as President.

PERSONAL

Annie E. Dickinson gave her excellent lecture "Breakers Ahead" in Rochester, N. Y., on the 11th inst.

Mrs. C. L. V. Daniels's plan of an association for the procural of land for actual settlers in Louisiana, by which the colored citizens shall have homesteads, gains favor in New Orleans and elsewhere.

Hon. Andrew D. White and wife will sail for Europe, in the Russia, next Wednesday. President White goes to Europe at this time in the interests of the Cornell University, and will visit leading universities in England and on the Continent. He will return about the last of June.

The Rev. Newman Hall, in a recent lecture in England, says Mrs. Stowe told him that she "imagined" the death of Uncle Tom while taking the sacrament one Sunday. She went home and imagined some more, and ultimately filled in the rest of her story to that "blessed vision" of the dying negro. The book was begun with the death scene, and the rest was made to lead up to it.

At an election in Houston, Texas, quite a number of colored people had arranged that on the morning of Monday they would repair to a certain church, and there get their tickets preparatory to voting. When an elderly man by the name of Jerry Mass, who had been somewhat troubled with the heart disease, received his ticket, he looked at it and asked: "Is this all right?" Being answered that it was, he sprang up, saying: "I bless God that I have lived to see this day," and suddenly fell down and expired.

Thaddeus Stevens, recently addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Senate, on the 11th inst., as follows:

"Dear Sir: I have long, and with such ability as I could command, reflected upon the subject of the Declaration of Independence; and finally have come to the sincere conclusion that universal suffrage was one of the inalienable rights intended to be embraced in that instrument by our Fathers at the time of the declaration, and that they were prevented from inserting it in the Constitution by slavery alone. They had no intention to abandon it as one of the finally enumerated rights, but simply to postpone it. The Committee on Reconstruction have inserted that provision with great unanimity in the bill admitting the State of Alabama into the Union. They have finally resolved that no State shall be admitted into the Union unless under that condition. I have deemed this notice necessary, that the States now in progress of construction or reconstruction may be advised thereof.

Yours, etc., Thaddeus Stevens.

Henry C. Wright, in a private letter, dated Woonsocket, R. I., March 16, says:

"These are perilous times for the destiny of earth's toiling millions. How certain it is that the wages of sin is death to nations as well as to individuals. As States feel and act, so must be their destiny—their heaven or their hell. This is the fixed law, and no cowardly, truckling, treacherous politicians or priests can alter it. God is God, and humanity is his unerring prophet. The negro must be abolished; stricken from our political arena, before this nation can be saved. Thus humanity interprets God. Hold the nation to this issue. The negro must be eliminated, and forever discarded from our Republic, and the man substituted, or the doom of the Republic is written, and ought speedily to be accomplished. God speed every effort made to blot from our religion and government the negro, and place the man in his stead."

The death of Mr. Wilson Armistead, of Leeds, England, is announced in the Leeds *Mercury* of the 20th ult. We extract from the *Mercury's* notice of Mr. Armistead the following:

We greatly regret to have to announce the unexpected death of our estimable townsman, Mr. Wilson Armistead, which took place on Tuesday. In the deceased gentleman the African race has lost an earnest friend, the best energies of whose life may be said to have been spent in the endeavor to secure their liberties and rights, and to promote their welfare. From an early period of his life he devoted himself to the cause of the oppressed slave and the scarcely less oppressed free colored man. In 1848 he published his "Tribute for the Negro," which may be described as a cyclopædia of facts, anecdotes, biographical sketches, arguments, and authorithies, in vindication of the "moral, intellectual, and religious capabilities of the coloured portion of mankind." The work is a handsome 8vo. of near 600 pages, and bears evidence of wide and laborious research. In 1859 he brought out a revised and much improved edition of the life of the American philanthropist, Anthony Benezet, originally published in the United States. Mr. Armistead was an indefatigable correspondent on behalf of the oppressed with friends of the Anti-Slavery cause throughout Great Britain and North America; and he was as liberal with his pecuniary means as with his pen. He was a man of a singularly amiable disposition and retiring habits. From his marked preference for undemonstrative means, such as quiet correspondence and private influence, for effecting his cherished objects, it happened that he was earlier and better known as a philanthropist in America, Scotland, and elsewhere at a distance, than here in his own town, where, however, he was much and deservedly esteemed.

Mr. Armistead was a member of the Society of Friends, to which his ancestors have belonged for several generations. He was warmly attached to its principles, and often employed his pen in its service. In 1851 he published a little work in six volumes, entitled "Select Miscellanies," a collection of anecdotes and *ana* illustrative of the history and Christian principles of the Society. * * * * * *

Mr. Armistead, in addition to being a staunch friend to the negro, had also a deeply-sympathising heart for suffering and distress in every shape, and thus he manifested by generous subscriptions to all our local charities. Being of a very retiring disposition he never filled any public office in the town, and took no part in politics. He was, however, well-known and greatly respected by all classes of his townsmen, and the announcement of his death will be received with very general regret.

Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, D. C., March 17, 1868.

There is no change in the impeachment "situation," at least since Friday afternoon last. There is not the least doubt that the result of the action taken by the Senate, with regard to delay from the defendant's counsel, was a surprise to nearly everybody, but most of all to the President. Very few of us, who watched and waited anxiously for the decision, that believed the Senate would so far regard the national necessities as to provide against the factious delay, or even a part of it, which the ex-Attorney-General demanded.

The decision of the Senate was undoubtedly a great surprise to Mr. Johnson. That individual believed himself secure of thirty or forty days wherein to prepare. Then the trial was expected to last some fifty or sixty days. Now the purpose is to do all possible things for delay, after the trial begins. The talk about the White House is that the trial will last *fifty* days. Your correspondent suggests twenty as nearer the mark. I fully expect that Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, will occupy the White House by the 16th proximo. It would be a great satisfaction to all who admire real pluck, manliness, and sagacity, and devout adherence to principle, to have a hope of seeing a man who embodies these, remain there by the choice of the people. But we will still be thankful for the blessings which remain; nine months of Wade will be a blessing, and then he will be Vice-President, which will be the next best thing to having him at the head of the Republican ticket.

The jealousy of Mr. Wade is something surprising. There are at least five, and probably more, hopeful aspirants for Fred Douglass's reversion,—the Vice-Presidency. They are, Fessenden, Wilson, Grimes, Morgan, Pomeroy, and Howard. Some of these are very sore over the almost certain prospect of the Buckeye's nomination. If by any chance he should be compelled or induced to resign his present position, it would only make his nomination at Chicago more secure, and they know it.

The Senate showed that differences existed on Friday last which, had it not been for the final and just vote, might have destroyed the successful consummation of impeachment. The admirable presentation of the country's position made by Gen. Butler is credited with changing a feeling far too evident in the secret deliberation of the Court or Senate.

The position of the Chief-Justice is still being commented upon. Evidence accumulates that the tendencies now exhibited are not a pettish development of a too sensitive dignity. There are many papers of the more moderate Democratic stripe who favor the suggestion of making Mr. Chase the Democratic nominee. They think that it is evident several States will vote under Republican reorganization, and they believe that the name would secure the negro. The Baltimore *Gazette*, among others, endorses the idea. The New York *Sun*, which put forth a feeler in that direction yesterday, is in part owned by Jay Cooke and others supposed to be friendly to Mr. Chase. Long ago it was declared by the shrewder politicians here that he would seek an opposition nomination if he failed to obtain the Republican endorsement. They recollected his treachery to Margaret Garner—that when the monarchist Seward was upon the point of dismissal by Mr. Lincoln, that Mr. Chase stepped in to protect him—and they did not fail also to remember that his name was once attached (and withdrawn) to the Winter Davis-Wade protest against Mr. Lincoln's Louisiana policy.

Asmodeus.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, March 15th, 1868.

I mentioned to you awhile ago, I think, Mr. Nash's argument in our House of Representatives against the Sunday law. His ground of objection to this law was threefold; first, it violates the Constitution of this State, elevating the peculiarities of certain religious sects into statutes, and thus practically "subordinating one sect or denomination to another," a thing expressly forbidden in the 11th Amendment; next, it supports a gross misrepresentation of the sect which first established it, namely, the pretence that Sunday-Sabbatism is one of the injunctions of the Christian Scriptures; and lastly, that in practical operation it is made to work injuriously to the interests of the community. Under the last head, Mr. Nash mentioned the late action of the Sabbatarian clergy, preventing the Reading-room of the Public Library from being opened to the people on Sunday evening. I refer to the subject now for the purpose of mentioning another example of the same sort which has just occurred, in which the Sunday law was made to defeat the course of justice and the interests of humanity. This was the decision in the following case, tried the 13th inst., in the Superior Court for Suffolk County, Massachusetts.

No. 1661. *Peter Riley v. S. Gross et al.*—The plaintiff, who is a stable-keeper on the corner of Garden and Cambridge streets, sued to recover the value of a bay horse which died from the effects of immoderate driving. From the plaintiff's evidence, it appeared that the plaintiff agreed to furnish the defendants a horse, each day of the week for six months, at four dollars a day. One Saturday night the defendants requested the use of a horse on Sunday, and the horse about which this controversy arose was given him. The defendants drove the horse on Sunday to Chelsea beach, and returned him about four o'clock in the afternoon. Soon after the horse got into the stable he fell down, and died during that night, from the effects of immoderate driving. The evidence for the plaintiff having been put in, the defendants asked the court upon these facts to rule for them on the ground that the contract to furnish a horse each day embraced Sunday as well as the other days of the week, and was, therefore, void; and, further, that no action would lie for the loss of the horse from immoderate driving, since he had been intrusted by the owner to the defendants to be driven in violation of the statute for the observance of the Lord's day. The court so ruled, and directed a verdict for the defendants.

It is well known that repeated cases occurred under our late infamous slave system, in which a slave dying under protracted tortures deliberately inflicted by his master, the court and jury acquitted the murderer on the ground that he was not proved to have *intended* to destroy life. So in this case, the abominable cruelty of driving a horse so excessively as to cause his death must go unpunished, because the existence of this Sunday law allows the criminal to escape the penalty.

Rev. Samuel J. May of Syracuse, who has been giving in the *Christian Register* very interesting "Recollections of our Early Anti-Slavery Reformers," has reported, in two late numbers of that paper, the details of the arrogant and brutal treatment of certain representatives of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, by George Lunt of this city, when he was clothed with a little brief authority as chairman of a legislative committee.

The well-known assault upon a Woman's Anti-Slavery meeting in Boston, by a mob of "gentlemen of property and standing," dispersing the meeting, and violently seizing Mr. Garrison, with the intention of further outrage, was made on the 21st of October, 1835. At the next meeting of the Legislature, the inaugural speech of the Governor (Edward Everett), severely censured the Abolitionists, suggesting that the mere holding of meetings in opposition to slavery was an offence punishable at common law.

At that same session of the Legislature were presented, from several Legislatures and Executives of slaveholding States, communications requesting a formal prohibition, by law, of the formation of societies, and the publication or expression of sentiments, adverse to slavery. These communications, with the kindred expression of our own Governor, above noticed, were referred to a joint committee of five, of which George Lunt was chairman. As a strong pro-slavery sentiment pervaded the Legislature, as well as the clergy, the press and the people at that time, there seemed great danger that some legislative action might be taken impairing freedom of speech and of the press. In view of this probability, the Board of managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society asked for a hearing before the Committee, designing, by a presentation of their publications, and a statement of the grounds of their action, to show that their conduct, in the matters complained of, had been not only right in itself, but within the bounds of the Constitution and the laws.

At a public hearing given in the Representatives' Hall, in compliance with this request, Samuel J. May, Ellis Gray Loring, William Goodell, William Lloyd Garrison and Dr. Charles Follen addressed the Committee. Mr. Goodell received an impertinent interruption from the Chairman in the course of his address, but was allowed to finish it. Dr. Follen, however, in the midst of his remarks, was peremptorily forbidden to proceed, Mr. Lunt taking the ground that it was at the option of the Committee to hear as much or as little as they pleased. His words were (as reported in a pamphlet published immediately after, which agrees with my own memory of the transaction), "You have no right to claim from us a hearing on this subject. It is a matter of special favor on our part that you are admitted to this interview at all; and now you must be subject to our direction."

Mr. May, Mr. Loring, and Mr. Godell then claimed their *right* to set forth the grounds of their action as Abolitionists, and the next morning a remonstrance was presented to the Legislature against this curtailment of that right, and against all legislative interference with freedom of speech and of the press. The result of this was a reference of the remonstrance to the same Committee, and a second hearing before them four days after.

At this second hearing remarks were made by Samuel E. Sewall, Dr. Follen, William Goodell, Mr. May, Dr. Gamaliel Bradford, and Mr. George Bond, several of whom were impertinently interrupted, and others peremptorily stopped, by the Chairman, notwithstanding the strongly-expressed dissent of Mr. Moseley, one of the Committee. So the despotic conduct of Mr. Lunt actually prevented the Abolitionists from making a full statement of their case to that Committee, before whom they had *seemed* to have two hearings.

I mention these circumstances because Mr. Lunt, in his *Sunday Courier* of the 8th and the 15th inst., complains of Mr. May's narrative as inaccurate, and further seeks to vindicate himself on the ground that the Legislature sustained him. No doubt a great majority of that body shared with Mr. Lunt the disgrace of being utterly pro-slavery in sentiment, and servile enough in spirit to consent to yield essential rights to the arrogant demands of the slaveholders; but he stands pre-eminent in infamy as having been the willing and active instrument of the injustice then perpetrated—as having chosen to violate, in behalf of the Slave-Power, the plainest dictates of justice, modesty and decency—and as choosing still to uphold, apparently from pure preference for evil, a system now discarded by the nation as at once anti-christian and anti-republican, a crime and a disgrace, a vice in morals and a blunder in economy.

The inaccuracy alleged against Mr. May's statement is found to consist merely in the name of "Edward" (instead of Ebenezer) applied to one of the Committee, and the wrong idea of the narrator that Mr. Everett failed of his election as Governor the following year. In all the substantial features of this great historical event, Mr. May's statement stands unquestioned and unquestionable. Mr. Lunt, however, seizes the opportunity to present a pro-slavery view of the case, and for that purpose has exhumed the portion descriptive of it from his book entitled "Origin of the late War," of which "a few copies" still remain on hand. The extract given by Mr. Lunt, besides misrepresenting the spirit and character of both sides in the controversy, contains something else worse than "inaccuracy," namely, a deliberate misstatement. He says that an adjournment to another day was requested and allowed, "in order to permit another series of speakers to present their views." On the contrary, the request for another day was made expressly on the ground that, by the insolent and tyrannical conduct of the Chairman, the speakers of the first day had been prevented from making either a full or a fair presentation of their case.

Mr. Lunt quotes approvingly the infamous gag-law, which had shortly before been passed by Congress, as follows:

Resolved, That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery shall, without being printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon. Passed in the United States House of Representatives. *Yeas*, 117; *Nays*, 68.

He wished to sustain slavery, even by destroying freedom of speech and of the press, if no other means should prove sufficient. He offers in excuse that the Legislatures of Massachusetts and of the Nation were on his side; but his peculiar disgrace is, that while both the people and their Representatives have long since receded from that position, acknowledging slaveholding to have been both a crime and a blunder, he has been base enough to continue in the advocacy of that wickedness, stupid enough ostentatiously to proclaim his preference for the meanest of all systems of tyranny, and ignorant enough to suppose that, in his particular case, infamy will be a better destiny than oblivion.

North.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

Philadelphia, March 16, 1868.

The Republican State Convention which assembled in this city last week, did neither more nor less than was expected. Nominations for Surveyor and Auditor-General were made; the names of Grant and Curtin were recommended for the Presidential ticket, and a long series of resolutions were passed, such as might have been adopted by almost any political gathering, without risking popularity or incurring public disfavor.

It was thought that some disagreement would arise pertaining to the choice of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. The name of Grow having been withdrawn, and that of Geary, at his own request, not being presented, the friends of Curtin had no serious opposition. He received 109 votes, Wade 22, and Stanton one. That one vote merited and received cordial applause. I believe that the name of Judge Kelley, although mentioned from time to time hitherto, was not spoken of on this occasion.

The resolutions are bold and explicit concerning questions of undoubted popularity, but they manifest a discreet care to avoid an utterance that may jeopardize success. It is entirely safe to laud the soldiers, and it has become an easy habit among Republican politicians to extol Gen. Grant. No harm can arise from speaking in favor of retrenchment, economy, and honest administration of government, and no votes are likely to be lost in denouncing fraud in the collection of the revenue. That is easier than to speak of the public debt as a sacred obligation that should be paid? "Protection to American industry" has become a stereotyped phrase here, and Republican Conventions of this State never fail to give it the benefit of an eloquent resolve. Finally, the condemnation of Andrew Johnson is the cheapest sort of an element to be embodied in a resolution, and can be the source of no political detriment.

But the eye searches through these resolutions in vain for a solitary word in favor of impartial suffrage. The black man is not the recipient of so much as even a word of recognition. One might suppose that he is an alien in the contest, judging from these resolutions, with no wrongs to be redressed, no rights to be protected, and no suit for justice at the bar of the nation. Did the members of this Convention forget that there are tens of thousands of colored citizens in our land who claim the freemen's right to the ballot? No; they did not forget. They purposely ignored the great question that so nearly concerns their peace, welfare and safety. They made no declaration in its behalf, thereby showing a want of courage, consistency and gratitude. Will this be the case at Chicago? And will such a position satisfy all Republicans? How remarkable it seems for a political convention to suppress an important question in proclaiming its sentiments, while at the same time the most popular and eminent speakers in the party ardently advocate the same, and are greeted with fervent applause on the part of the very men who are guilty of the cowardice!

The great ratification meeting in the Academy of Music, on Thursday evening, was a brilliant affair. In numbers it was massive, and it was necessary to close the doors against hundreds that sought admission. But this magnificent assemblage would have had but an indifferent repast without the fine speech of Senator Nye. He spoke like one who felt that there were vital issues in the canvass, with generous vigor and eloquent power. He was not afraid to speak in clear and emphatic terms upon the suffrage question, and the consciousness of the just claims of the negro did not slumber in his mind in undisturbed repose. It was good to see him plant his foot firmly upon the platform, and to hear him declare, "I am a Radical." In comparison with Curtin, whom he immediately followed, one could but feel that he was listening to a man of genuine manhood. Curtin's speech was insipid. It was an effort to gain favor with all, to please the Conservatives, and not to displease the Radicals. He declared that his position was identical with his party, neither a step in advance, nor a step in the rear. Such a man to be Vice-President? We don't want clay, subject to any kind of party moulding and manipulation, but a real man, with soul and thorough individuality, courageous enough to proclaim solid principles, and with power to exert an influence upon his party in their behalf. It is safe to say that the Chicago Convention will not look with special favor upon the name of Curtin. W.

RHODE ISLAND CORRESPONDENCE.

Newport, R. I., March 13, 1868.

There are probably two places in the United States where it is very readily believed that Chief-Justice Chase and his son-in-law, Senator Sprague, intend to throw their influence in favor of President Johnson. These places are Washington and Rhode Island.

Senator Sprague is known in this State, if nowhere else, as one of the ablest and most unscrupulous political intriguers in America. His ambition and wealth have produced a demoralization in the politics of his own State that only the personal popularity of Gov. Burnside could overcome. Finding it impossible to set aside Gov. Burnside, the Sprague influence has this year caused Lieut.-Gov. Greene to be dropped by the Republicans—his only offence being Radicalism—and has substituted Pardon W. Stevens of Newport, who is as near being a Democrat as a nominal Republican can be. And that, in Rhode Island, is very near. For, as far as I can see, the chief difference between Connecticut and Rhode Island is that most of the men who are there called Democrats, are called Republicans here.

I do not know how matters went at the other caucuses in the State, but I know that here the Collector of the port, an avowed Johnson man, was appointed by the Chairman (Mr. Van Zandt) as one of the nominating committee to select delegates to the State Convention—and the presiding officer, who thus appointed him, was in turn sent a delegate to both the State and National Conventions!

It is universally admitted by both sides that the Conservative Republicans now control Rhode Island through the arrangements of Senator Sprague; and that these Conservatives have far more in common with the Democratic party than with the Republican. It is admitted by all that Senator Sprague, who is naturally looking out for his own re-election, has voluntarily thrown away all prospects of Radical support, and is now aiming at Democratic support only; and it is generally believed that Chief-Justice Chase is ready to follow the lead of his more wily son-in-law. How utterly this attempt would fail in the nation at large, I need not say; but if Judge Chase wishes to reproduce the decline and fall of Daniel Webster, who can prevent him?

I cannot pretend to comprehend the complications of Rhode Island politics; and I have therefore asserted nothing which is not admitted by men of all parties, in these regions. To show how some moderate Republicans feel, I send an extract from yesterday's *Evening News*, which is anything but a radical paper:

"Another Democratic Candidate for the Presidency.—The Washington correspondent of the Boston *Post* telegraphs that a new movement among political managers is being developed, intended to bring forward Chief-Justice Chase as the Conservative candidate for the Presidency. These managers contend that Justice Chase was originally a Democrat of the strictest school and seceded from the party on the abolition issue; but as that issue is no longer in existence, he now occupies a fair position to be made available in the next Presidential contest. Such is the talk among those who, in a great measure, run the party machinery, and a very decided feeling is being created in favor of Judge Chase as the nominee of the Democratic party.

"Are politics in Rhode Island shaping themselves to fall into line with this movement? Does the gag game played in the Republican Convention and the House of Representatives derive its support from the Chase interest which is so potent here?"

This is what is said by those having an inside view, whereas, I am only a Looker-on.

THE COLOR QUESTION.

Penn, Chester Co., Pa., March 6, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Sir: Your correspondent "Rudolph," in the last number of The Standard, drew a contrast between the action of the men who participated in the recent oyster supper given by the proprietors of the Lochiel Iron Works at Harrisburg, on the one hand, and that of the Rev. Mr. Boynton, at Washington, on the other, in the matter of prejudice against color.

But to the most important and encouraging feature in the case, your correspondent ommitted all allusion. The proprietors of the Lochiel Iron Works (probably without any feeling in reference to the matter themselves), knowing how sedulously the jealousies of race have been fostered among the people, and, doubtless, desiring that the supper should at least be the cause of no disharmony among their workmen, provided against all possibility of a scene, by ordering a separate table for the men of color. The white workmen, learning this fact, petitioned their employers unanimously, that the proposed distinction should be annulled, which was accordingly done. They took the ground that, as the colored men employed by the company worked with them, there was no reason why they should not partake of the supper at the same table.

I have thought it worth while to ask you to give this fact to your readers for several reasons. First, the intrinsic nobleness and generosity of the action of these laboring men deserves a public recognition in the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Secondly, it is another signal and important refutation of the assertion so frequently made, that harmony between the white and colored races is impossible. And, lastly, it is a most dignified rebuke of the snobs, both in the political arena and in social life, who presume to set up their own vulgar and provincial standard as the rule of conduct for the people at large.

Before closing this note I will just add that Mr. Hickman, a member of the Lower House of the State Legislature, from this county, has, during the present session, contended with great ability and steadiness for manhood suffrage against the whole Democratic forces, and I am sorry to be obliged to say, deserted by nearly all the Republicans of the House. Of the whole Philadelphia delegation but one gentleman had the courage to take his stand on the side of justice—Mr. Thorne. It was quite amusing to see how the Democrats bullied these Republican cowards.

I am, sir, yours respectfully,

Howard W. Gilbert.

MEMORIAL OF JAMES MOTT,

PRESIDENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA PEACE SOCIETY.

PREPARED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

It remains to be a divinely inspired truth that "The memory of the just is blessed."

From the organization of this Society, our friend, although almost four score years of age, has been one of its most active and earnest members.

Having had the principles of *peace*, which are implanted in every child of our common Father, early and constantly cultivated by his education in the Society of Friends, of which he was a practical and consistent member, he was always ready to advocate the cause of peace, which we trust and believe is destined to eradicate the greatest evil that now afflicts the human family, war, with its multiplied horrors and devastations. Of the labors of our friend in regard to Slavery, Intemperance, and all other evils, against which he was ever ready to "cry aloud and spare not," we need not speak, as these Societies will doubtless do him justice. Our brethren of the African race feel deeply the loss they have sustained by his removal.

As a Peace Society, we owe much to the influence of our President. He was a staff and a support to the younger members of the Society, ever ready by his cheerful countenance and kindly words to encourage us to faithfulness in the arduous labors before us.

We tender our sympathies to his noble, earnest, and faithful companion, who, through long years has walked hand-in-hand with him in all good works, and we are bowed with her under the bereavement, which, though it be the common lot of humanity, must ever fall heavily upon us when such a light is removed from our midst.

In contemplating the long life, so full of earnest and arduous labors for the blessings of humanity everywhere, we feel that it was an inestimable privilege to have been contemporary with such a laborer, to have stood side-by-side with him and heard his cheering words of encouragement, and seen and felt the earnestness of his daily efforts for the accomplishment of that which he knew to be right.

His life was a beautiful illustration of the truth that "the path of the righteous shineth brighter and brighter unto the perfect day." So clear was the light around him that there was no hesitation on his part. He saw the truth, and he loved it and labored for its promulgation among his fellow-men of all classes.

He could not be turned aside either by the scoffs and sneers of the unthinking multitude, or by the ridicule and scorn of the cold and unthinking. Through all his course he was ever for the right, and while he respected the rights of others, he felt that consistency required that he should maintain his own, and express the honest convictions of his soul wherever and whenever it was proper to do so. We are thankful to know that to him the principles of "Peace on earth and good will to man," were not mere abstract ideas, utopian in their character, beautiful to look upon or to speak of, but impractical and not adapted to the age in which we live; but on the contrary, that they were suited to the every-day wants of humanity. Especially was it his plea that we should teach our children, by precept and example, the principles of Justice, Mercy and Truth.

At a meeting of the Society held in Friends' Meeting-House, Abington, in the 8th month last, he was particularly earnest in his appeals to parents. He remarked, "Every one will admit that peace is better than war—that harmony and good feeling in a neighborhood are much better than strife and contention.

"We all feel that the same is true of nations. We have had wars for ages past, and the people continue to be in a state almost ready at any time for warfare.

"How are we going to bring about a feeling of peace? Kindness and love in the community generally, so that we shall be able to uproot all war and bitterness. I do not know of any better way, than *to begin at home, with our children*; parents must learn to educate and govern themselves—their own feelings. And in the management and government of their little children at home, let kindness, love, and gentleness be manifested on all occasions. There has been a great advance in these respects within my memory. We know that the time was when the rod was considered necessary in all schools, and in almost all families. Now, all our best schools have abolished it, and there are comparatively few intelligent persons who think it necessary under any circumstances.

"We have found that love, gentleness and kindness are much more efficient in overcoming unruly conditions than the application of those relics of barbarism, the rod and the strap, which always tend to excite opposition and hatred. Let us, then, my friends, endeavor to instil into the minds of our children the principles of Peace. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart therefrom." I do not know of any better or more certain way to bring peace on earth than by each one seeing that we have it within ourselves, and then cultivating it in the minds of little children. Young men and young women, let me impress upon your minds the importance of the work before you"!

At a meeting of the Society, held at Friends' meeting-house, Gwynedd, in the tenth month last, he said: "We have come together to consider the subject of Peace; how much better it is to dwell in peace and harmony, than to be in strife and contention."

Even the men engaged in war are unwilling to defend it. It has been brought to my remembrance since we have been sitting here, some papers that were published at the close of he war of 1812.

A number of essays appeared in one of the Philadelphia papers, which attracted a great deal of attention, showing, as they did, the horrors and barbarity of war; and, on making inquiry, it was ascertained that they were written by Gen. Scott, who had been a prominent actor in that war. His descriptions of the scenes through which he had passed were very impressive, and his arguments in favor of peace as strong as any I have ever heard.

We want to bring about a state of feeling in the community that people will learn war no more. We know that it was said in the olden time, "the sword should be beaten into the ploughshare, and the spear into a pruning-hook;" but many ages have rolled away since that time, and nations still learn war. The object of our Society is to encourage all to individual faithfulness. It is not so much from a want of a belief in the righteousness of our principles and testimonies, as it is from a want of faithfulness in bearing them before the world.

We have held meetings in several parts of the country in order to stir up a more lively interest in this good cause.

"*I may not meet you again, but I call upon the young people to consecrate themselves to this work.*" These last words were prophetic.

We are glad to record these noble testimonies as a legacy from our venerable friend. Though dead as to the outward, he yet speaketh. The bright example of his long and faithful labors should stimulate us to increased earnestness in the faithfulness of our duties, that when the time comes to us we may be no longer stewards here—we may hear, as we doubt not he did, the blessed words, "Well done, good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over more. Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." Feeling sensible that this is the condition of our beloved friend, we are encouraged to press forward toward the mark for the prize, that we, too, may be ready when the summons comes, "to join the innumerable company that John saw, who had washed their robes and made them white" in purity.

Signed on behalf of the Executive Committee,

Henry T. Child, M.D.,
634 Race street, Philadelphia.

PENNSYLVANIA RADICAL PEACE SOCIETY.

On the evening of February 26th this association held a large and interesting meeting at the City Assembly Rooms, Vice-President T. Ellwood Chapman occupying the chair. James M. Peebles, of New Jersey, delivered an address, presenting the aims of the society in abolishing the custom and the causes of war, and lifting mankind to a higher and more spiritual plane.

Joshua Hutchinson interspersed the proceedings with his peace-loving songs. The Secretary, H. T. Child, presented the memorial of their late President, James Mott, as adopted by the Executive Committee, and made a few remarks on his valuable life.

Alfred H. Love was called upon for a report of the recent Washington Convention, and in presenting the resolutions, which, as far as heard from, had received the endorsement of the branch societies, said he accepted the national verdict of the last five days as a triumphant vindication of the value of peace principles. In the past, this great issue would have brought civil war before this, but there was a moral power in the people now to keep the head upon the shoulders, and the finger off the trigger, and he hailed intellectual arbitration with righteousness and moral courage, as a peace agent, and begged the nation to keep cool and trust this principle. Dr. Child and others responded, hoping this might be realized. The following are the resolutions:

Whereas, The foundation rock of pure Christianity is peace, the true intent of government is peace, and the prayer of the people is peace; and whereas, the three great proclamations given to the world, viz—"Thou shalt not kill," "Peace on earth," and "All men have an inalienable right to life," have been and are totally disregarded until the anthem is Glory to military power in the highest, on earth death and destruction towards men; and the Constitution of the United States, so long as it refuses this inalienable right to life, and mocks and confounds this commandment and the teachings of Jesus, is still "an agreement with death and a covenant with hell;" therefore,

Resolved, That, as we see and feel the monstrous iniquity of this sytem of man-torture and man-killing, we will continue our protest, "whether men will bear or whether they will forbear," and for our humble selves renew the faith and strength that is in us that we may not deviate a single line from that love, charity and humanity that will "follow peace with all men," and enable us to be what we approve.

Miss Carrie S. Burnham read a poem composed by H. Clay Preuss, of Washington, entitled "A Prayer for Peace."

On motion of D. Y. Kilgore, seconded by Edwin H. Coates with a few remarks, a committee was appointed to memorialize the Legislature on the abolition of capital punishment.

A statement was made of the condition of certain Indian tribes, especially of the orphans, their parents having been massacred in Colorado territory, and arrangements were made for sending them clothing and seeds. The women and children require the former, and one step towards civilization is to have them dress like ourselves. Any contributions sent to 212 Chesnut street, Philadelphia, will be forwarded. The meeting then adjourned.

LITERARY.

Roberts Brothers, of Boston, have in press Auerbach's "On the Heights;" St. Beuve's "Portraits of Celebrated Women," translated by Miss Preston; "The Earthly Paradise," by William Morris, author of "The Life and Death of Jason;" a volume of essays by A. Bronson Alcott; and a volume entitled "Where is the City?" a record of "Israel Knight's" search in quest of the true church.

Subscriptions are being made in England to found a women's college between London and Cambridge—for Cambridge has had the wisdom to examine women, while Oxford refuses—where all the regular university studies are to be carried on, with the addition of those special to women, the teachers being both men and women, as the case may require, but the college authorities women only. £30,000 will be enough to build a college to contain 100 students, and Mrs Bodichon heads the subscription list with £1,000.

Demorest's Monthly for April presents its usual variety of reading matter, with illustrations of the Spring fashions and patterns.

Blackwood's Magazine for February contains "Brownlow's—Conclusion;" "Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis;" "Linda Tressel"—Part V.; "Cornelius O'Dowd;" "Historical Sketches of the Reign of George II.—No. I;" "The Queen;" "Fenianism;" and "The Queen of the Highlands."

The Friend for March contains article 12 of "The Four Gospels;" The Historical Problem," by C. D. B. Mills; "Christ's Political Record," by J. J. Merritt; "Great Expectations;" "No Sect in Heaven;" "Nick-Nacks for the Senate;" "The Cost of Living—The Tariff;" which with the continuation of Mrs. Corbin's story "Married," and Editorial Notes, make up an interesting number.

Lippincott's Magazine for April contains "Dallas Galbraith"—Part IV., by Mrs. R. Harding Davis; "Correlation of Forces," by Prof. S. H. Dickson; "Quotation Marks," by Lloyd B. Smith; "The Situation of Europe," by Louis Blanc; "Ranlock Branch," A Tale, by J. T. McKay; "Opium and Opium Eating," by "Sigma;" "The Old Volunteer," by Mrs. Mary E. Eastman; "Common Schools of New Jersey," by Prof. John S. Hart; "Womanhood and Chivalry in America," by Henry Morford; "An Interlude," by S. Emlen Randolph; "La Reina De Las Antillas," by "Enfermo;" "Excise Taxes on Manufactures," by Hon. Amasa Walker; "From the Bridge of Sighs," by Julia Ward Howe; "Our Monthly Gossip;" "Literature of the Day," etc.

RECEIVED.

Ekkoes from Kentucky. By Petroleum V. Nasby. Illustrated by Thomas Nast. 324 pages. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Red Cross; or Young America in England and Wales. By Oliver Optic. 336 pages. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The Bible Rule of Temperance. By Geo. Duffield, D.D. 206 pages. New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House, 172 William street.

The Chimney Corner. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. 311 pages. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Putnam's Monthly Magazine for April. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son.

Lippincott's Magazine for April. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Littell's Living Age. Boston: Littell & Gay.

Every Saturday. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

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AGENTS WANTED—BY ONE OF

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TEMPERANCE, THE CHEAP PHYSICIAN.

BY CRASHAW.

"That which makes us have no need of physic, that's physic indeed."

HARK, hither, reader! wilt thou see
Nature her old physician be?
Wilt see a man all his own wealth,
His own music, his own health—
A man whose sober soul can tell
How to wear her garments well—
Her garments that upon her sit
As garments should do, close and fit;
A well-clothed soul, that's not oppressed
Nor choked with what she should be dressed;
A soul sheathed in a crystal shrine,
Through which all her bright features shine:
As when a piece of wanton lawn,
A thin, aerial veil, is drawn
O'er beauty's face, seeming to hide,
More sweetly shows the blushing bride;
A soul whose intellectual beams
No mists do mark, no lazy streams;
A happy soul, that all the way
To heaven hath a Summer's day?
Would'st see a man whose well-warmed blood
Bathes him in a genuine flood?
A man whose tuned humors be
A seat of rarest harmony?
Would'st see blithe looks, fresh cheeks, beguile
Age? Would'st see December's smile?
Would'st see nests of new roses grow
In a bed of reverend snow?
Warm thoughts, free spirits, flattering
Winter's self into a Spring?
In sum, would'st see a man that can
Live to be old, and still a man?
Whose latest and most leaden hours
Fall with soft wings, stuck with soft flowers:
And when life's sweet fable ends,
Soul and body part like friends—
No quarrels, murmurs, no delay—
A kiss, a sigh, and so away?
This rare one, reader, would'st thou see?
Hark, hither, and thyself be he.

[This beautiful description of happy, peaceful health in age, and tranquil death crowning a long life of temperance, will remind many readers of THE STANDARD of the genial living and dying of John Pierpont.]

GREAT CROW ROOST IN KENTUCKY.

REMARKABLE CROW PHENOMENON.

LEXINGTON, Ky., Feb. 20, 1868.

ONE of the most remarkable sights in Kentucky is the crow roost, seven miles from Lexington, on the Danville pike. The roost is so old that the memory of the oldest inhabitant of the blue-grass region runneth not to the contrary. Many years ago the roost was nearer Lexington, but as the trees were cut away the crows moved southward, always seeking the next piece of timber. At the present there are no large forests in the country near the city, and many pieces of timber have been called into requisition to lodge their black highnesses. Hundreds sleep in the open fields for want of a limb, and the wrangle over a desirable bed in a tree-top is something fearful. By the amount of cawing and jawing done every evening, we should think the question of reconstructing the roost, or moving it altogether, was under discussion. Whether the crows will ever abandon their ancient roost is a matter of some doubt, but judging by the fact that hundreds, if not to say thousands, have already given up the trees and roost on the ground, we incline to the opinion that when there are no more trees, all will content themselves with a bed on mother earth. A gentleman who lives near the roost, and who has a fine locust grove in front of his house, was surprised one evening to see it black with crows. For a time it all went well, but the roost became popular, and every evening there was a wrangle to see who would get it. As the desirable place would hold only a few hundreds, and there were some thousands who nightly applied for lodgings, the noise and confusion became intolerable. Sometimes in the middle of the night an over-loaded limb would break, and then a battle would ensue, lasting not unfrequently until daylight. Tired out with the din that banished the idea of sleep, one night the old fellow and his son sallied out with shot-guns and slew some hundreds of their annoying visitors. Next morning the crows were all gone, and returned no more to that grove.

The other evening we drove out to the roost, and witnessed a sight we shall not soon forget. It was 4 o'clock when we arrived on the ground, and already the crowds had begun to arrive. At sundown they were coming from all directions, and long lines continued entering the woods from every quarter until dark. Each flock had its flier or leader, who flew over the tree-tops until he found his roost, when the head of the column lighted, the rest circling round and round and winding themselves about the chief. Only a few crows would light on the same tree where the leader lighted, from which fact we judged he is a sort of autocrat with the common herd, and that the persons who slept on his tree were his royal family, and crows high in authority in the flock. Whether we imagined it or not, certain it is that on one tree only two or three crows sat, who kept up an incessant cawing, and every now and then one would quit the tree, and, after flying to an approaching flock, would return and apparently report to an old fellow who sat on the topmost branch, and never quitted his position, but kept flapping his wings, and constantly grumbling about something. He may have been the king of all the crow nation, and we regretted exceedingly that we did not understand the crow language, so we could report him correctly to the many readers of the *Commercial*. At times the venerable cuss spoke in a highly excited and guttural tone, and, if we may be allowed to judge by his motions, he was considerable of a tyrant in his governmental affairs. The crows did not seem afraid of us, and were evidently used to human visitors. We drove up quite close to trees bending beneath their weight, but these birds, usually so shy, did not mind us much until my companion imitated the explosion of a gun, when a scene that beggars description followed. Instantly cries rose from all parts of the wood, and thousands of crows flew into the air, circling round and round us, cawing vociferously. At times the noise was so great that, although sitting side by side in the buggy, we had to speak loudly in order to be heard by each other. Having raised great distress among our black friends, we drove off, but for miles saw flocks in the air still coming to roost. The rustle of the wings in flying was one of the most peculiar sounds we ever heard; a large flock passing over our heads, we paused to listen, and could compare the noise to nothing but the flutter of a million fans, or the rumpling of vast pieces of silk. Although the crows will not abandon their roost, it is a most annoying one, the boys from the city and adjoining farms frequently going out with dogs and guns and killing hundreds of them. On a dark night they will not fly from a torch, and if it is wet and drizzly you can hardly start them up. A double-barrelled shot gun or an old musket loaded with slugs, when fired off under a large tree, has been known to bring down as many as forty birds. This inhuman murder is frequently practiced by the youngsters, who make bets how many crows they can bring down at a single shot. If startled out of their sleep, the crows fly from tree to tree and seem quite helpless, losing in the night time all that cunning which characterizes them in daylight. When the firing continues for any time, they will fly into the open fields and there sleep until daylight. As soon as the day begins to break they quit their roost and go, no one knows where. It has been estimated that a crow will fly a hundred miles for his breakfast, and return after supper, and we have not the least doubt that many of the crows who sleep in Kentucky are citizens of Ohio and Illinois. We think that about one million crows sleep at the Church Roost, and about the last of March they will leave us and scatter themselves over the Northern States, returning again next Fall to spend the Winter with us. A gentleman who has closely observed them for many years, says that every year they decrease in numbers, that they are slowly passing away, and, in time, like the poor Indian, will become a defunct race on this continent.—*Cincinnati Commercial.*

DYING.—There is a dignity about that going alone, we call dying; that wrapping the mantle of immortality about us; that putting aside with a pale hand azure curtains that are drawn around this cradle of a world; that venture away from home for the first time in our lives; for we are not dead—there is nothing dead to speak of, and we only go off seeing foreign countries not laid down on the map we know about.

THE STUDY OF WORDS.

BY WILLIAM A. WHEELER.

"ETYMOLOGY" is a learned word denoting a learned science. This science has had to do with history and the grammatical forms of words, and traces them back, through all their modifications and transformations, to their ultimate origin and primary meaning in the same language, or in other languages. To be an expert and reliable etymologist requires not only a profound knowledge of a great many living and dead languages, but also an extent of general information, an acuteness and sobriety of judgment, and an amount and kind of training to which very few scholars can lay claim. But, although this science demands such high and rare qualifications in those who would cultivate it successfully, the *results* of their investigations are what all of us can readily gain an acquaintance with; and the study of words, pursued in this way, is as fascinating and as profitable as it is easy.

Names of visible objects, and even abstract terms, that have always been to us mere arbitrary sounds, which have come by common consent to stand as signs of ideas, acquire a new interest and deeper significance when we follow them up to their source, where we find them full of the freshness of nature, and richly laden with poetry and instruction. What boy is there, with any inkling of Latin, who does not feel it to be a real and valuable acquisition when he discovers that *preposterous*,—a word which he may have used hundreds of times with no true understanding of its meaning and proper application—is only a classical equivalent for our familiar expression of "putting the cart before the horse;" or when he learns that an *acorn* is, literally the *oak-corn*, that is, the grain, seed or fruit of the oak? Who does not experience a genuine sense of pleasure on being told, for the first time, that the lively little animal which we, for no apparent reason, name a *squirrel*, the ancient Greeks, with a charming affectionateness, called *little shady tail*, and that our word comes from the Greek one, and has precisely the same meaning? Is it not a fact worth knowing, that *tumblers* are so called because they were originally made pointed at the base,—like a goblet with the foot broken off,—so that, if set down with any liquor in them, they would *tumble* over,—the object, of course, being to make the drinkers drain the contents to the last drop?

If any of our readers wish for some pleasant in-door employment, they can hardly find another which will be at once so amusing and so useful as that of trying to find out the origin and history of words, particularly those of common life, such as we are all in the daily habit of using. Inquiries of this sort are valuable not only or chiefly as a source of innocent recreation; they serve also as a means of mental discipline, because the study of language naturally leads us to appreciate the importance of language, and to be careful in writing and speaking, not to use words loosely, inaccurately or at random.

A single remark is necessary, by way of caution, in regard to the authorities to be consulted. Most works on this subject—those of Archbishop Trench, for example—contain such a mixture of truth and error that it is quite unsafe to follow their guidance; and of those which are constructed on sound principles and with good judgment only one, the *latest* edition of Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, is generally accessible in this country. The earlier editions cannot be relied upon, as the method of investigation pursued in them is thoroughly faulty, and the explanations given are often false and often fanciful. The excellent Quarto Dictionary of Worcester is sufficiently trustworthy for words of which the etymology is well settled—and these are a large majority of the whole—but it does not profess to be anything more than a compilation from the works of previous investigators, or to embody the rich results of the best philological scholarship of the present day.—*Our Boys and Girls.*

HONOR YOUR BUSINESS.—It is a good sign when a man is proud of his calling. Yet nothing is more common than to hear men finding fault constantly with their particular business, and deeming themselves unfortunate because fastened to it by the necessity of gaining a livelihood. In this spirit men fret, and laboriously destroy all their comfort in the work; or they change their business, and go on miserably, shifting from one thing to another, till the grave or the poor-house gives them a fast grip. But while occasionally a man fails in life because he is not in the place fitted for his peculiar talents, it happens ten times oftener that failure results from neglect and even contempt of an honest business. A man should put his heart into everything that he does. There is not a profession that has not its peculiar cares and vexations. No man will escape annoyance by changing business. No mechanical business is altogether agreeable. Commerce, in its endless varieties, is affected like all other human pursuits, with trials, unwelcome duties, and spirit-tiring necessities. It is the very wantonness of folly for a man to search out the frets and burdens of his calling, and give his mind every day to a consideration of them. They belong to human life. They are inevitable. Brooding, then, only gives them strength. On the other hand, a man has power given to him to shed beauty and pleasure upon the homeliest toil, if he is wise. Let a man adopt his business and identify it with his life, and cover it with pleasant associations; for God has given us imagination not alone to make some poets, but to enable all men to beautify homely things. Heart-varnish will cover up innumerable evils and defects. Look at the good things. Accept your lot as a man does a piece of rugged ground, and begin to get out the rocks and roots, to deepen and mellow the soil, to enrich and plant it. There is something in the most forbidding avocation around which a man may twine pleasant fancies—out of which he may develop an honest pride.—*U. S. Economist.*

IDEALISM IN WOMAN.—Woman's nature and woman's life, void of idealism, want the special, the inner loveliness which sweetens all other qualities with the soul of a feminine inspiration. I do not account mere weakness womanly, or mere strength manly; but unideal weakness becomes silliness, and unideal strength coarseness. A lofty soul is not unfeminine; on the contrary, it may be most womanly, rich in fancy and sensibility. She that has a rich, womanly soul, however moderately gifted with talent or beauty, has a lustre around her of purity and grace more engaging than any brilliancy of talent or splendor of beauty. It is never coarse garments or plain features that offend; hearts the gentlest and the noblest have beaten against homespun, and features not of Grecian mould have been shrines to genius worthy of the gods. *That* which really does offend and shock is the harsh voice, the ungentle look, speech mindless and unmusical; these things in woman give us more than common pain, because they disappoint, because they disenchant, because they contradict the faith which we cherish, and rightly cherish, in the diviner humanity that we attribute to woman's nature. And there is no stage or relationship of life in which idealism is not a primal element of godliness in the woman. It is so in the matron as in the maiden; in the devotion of the mother as in the dreams of the girl; in the wife as in the virgin; as holy in the memories of age as it is glowing in the affections, the passions, and the hopes of youth.—*Giles's Human Life in Shakspeare.*

HOW TO COMMUNICATE EVIL TIDINGS.—When you are the messenger of very painful tidings, what is the best method? After much reflection, I must conclude that the shortest and simplest way of communicating the facts is the best. Here nature and philosophy meet; here our last experience confirms our first practice. You have to impart to an affectionate mother the death of her son who was drowned at sea. How shall it be done? Nature teaches; art can add nothing more: "O lady, I have sad news to impart; your son, on such a day, fell from the yard and was drowned. He has left us." This is the way in which they communicated things of old. So Homer (Iliad, xviii. 20, 21), when the tidings is brought to Achilles of Patroclus's death: "Patroclus is down; they are fighting around his naked corpse, and his armor is held by the plume-waving Hector." A striking instance is found in British history. When General Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, the rumor (very indefinite) one morning had reached the House of Commons. Every one was alert to hear, when Lord North arose slowly in his place, and with a solemn voice said, "General Burgoyne and his whole army are prisoners to the Americans;" and a dead silence of several minutes followed. How different is this from the shuffling and equivocations in which, in modern times, we disguise our defeats! The same method is sanctioned in the Bible. When Eli sat trembling for the ark of God, he heard the dreadful news; "And the messenger answered and said, Israel is fled before the Philistines; and there hath been a great slaughter among the people; and thy two sons, Hophni and Phinehas are dead; and the ark of God is taken" (1 Sam. iv. 17.) What condensed language; and every word laden with sorrow. No wonder that the effect followed: And it came to pass when he made mention of the ark of God, that he fell from off the seat backward, by the side of the gate, and his neck brake, and he died; for he was an old man and heavy; and he had judged Israel forty years."—*Dr. Wilmington.*

CATCHING SUNBEAMS.

REACHING after sunbeams,
With a dimpled hand—
That is right, my darling,
Grasp the golden band.
Fold it to your bosom,
Let it cheer your heart;
Gather radiant sunbeams,
Bid the clouds depart.

When your feet shall wander
From my side away,
You will fine that evil
With the good may stray.
Never heed it, darling,
Let it pass the while;
Gather only sunbeams,
Keep your heart from guile.

Grief may be your portion,
Shadows dim your way;
Clouds may darkly threaten
To obscure the day—
Don't despair, my darling,
There's a Father's love!
How could there be shadows,
With no light above.

—*L'ttle Corporal.*

HABITS OF GREAT STUDENTS.

RACINE composed his verse while walking about, reciting them in a loud voice. One day, while thus working at his play of Mithridates, in the Tuileries Gardens, a crowd of workmen gathered around him, attracted by his gestures; they took him for a madman about to throw himself into the basin. On his return home from such walks, he would write down, scene by scene, at first in prose, and when he had written it out he would exclaim—"My tragedy is done!" considering the dressing of the acts up in verse as a very small affair.

Magliabecchi, the learned librarian to the Duke of Tuscany, on the contrary, never stirred about, but lived amidst books. These were his bed, board and washing. He passed eight and forty years in their midst, only twice in the course of his life ventured beyond the walls of Florence—once to go two leagues off, and the other three and a half leagues, by order of the Grand Duke. He was an extremely frugal man, living upon eggs, bread and water in great moderation.

Luther, when studying, always had his dog lying at his feet, a dog he had brought from Wartburg, and of which he was very fond. An ivory crucifix stood at the table before him, and the walls of his study were stuck around with caricatures of the Pope. He worked at his desk for days together without going out; but when fatigued, and the ideas began to stagnate, took his guitar with him into the porch, and there executed some musical phantasy (for he was a skilful musician), when the ideas would flow upon him as fresh as flowers after a Summer's rain. Music was his invariable solace at such times. Indeed, Luther did not hesitate to say that after theology, music was the first of arts. "Music," said he, "is the art of the prophet; it is the only other art which, like theology, can calm the agitation of the soul and put the devil to flight." Next to music, if not before it, Luther loved children and flowers. The great gnarled man had a heart as tender as a woman's.

Calvin studied in his bed. Every morning at five or six o'clock, he had books, manuscripts and papers carried to him there, and had he occasion to go out, on his return he went to bed again to continue his studies. In his latter years he dictated his writings to secretaries. He rarely corrected anything. The sentences issued complete from his mouth. If he felt the faculty of composition leaving him he forthwith quitted his bed, gave up writing and composing, and went about his outdoor duties for days, weeks and months together. But as soon as he felt the inspiration fall upon him again, he went back to his bed and his secretary was set to work forthwith.

Pascal wrote most of his thoughts on little scraps of paper; at his by-moments Fenelon wrote his Talemachus in the place of Versailles, at the court of the Grand Monarque, when discharging the duties of tutor to the Dauphin. That a book so thoroughly democratic should have issued from such a source, and be written by a priest, may seem surprising.

De Quincy first promulgated his notions of universal freedom of person and trade, and of throwing all tax on the land—the germ, perhaps, of the French Revolution—in the boudoir of Madame Pampadour.

Bacon knelt down before composing his great work, and prayed for light and inspiration from Heaven. Pope never could compose well without first declaiming for some time at the top of his voice and thus rousing his nervous system to its fullest activity.

The life of Leibnitz was one of reading, writing and meditation. That was the secret of his prodigious knowledge. After an attack of the gout, he confined himself to a diet of bread and milk. Often he slept in a chair, and rarely went to bed till after midnight. Sometimes he was months without quitting his tent, where he slept by night and wrote by day. He had an ulcer in his right leg, which prevented his walking about, even had he wished to do so.

THE WISDOM OF INSTINCT.—Our Summer birds, the cuckoo and swallow, and many besides, migrate southward, not at but before the approach of Winter. Ere its earliest heralds appear—meadows are hoary, and hill tops powdered with snow—the swallows gather from crags and house eaves; and, guided through pathless skies by Him who guards a sparrow's life, they wing their way to lands where snow never falls, nor frosts bind the streams in chains of ice. Not dallying with danger nor delaying till its too near approach, they, if the expression might be applied to them, take time by the forelock. Equally wise and provident are those insects which, not seeking another country, store up honey against the rigors of our own, provision the garrison to be prepared for the siege. So soon as the swarm hiving off has taken possession of its new abode, they proceed to furnish it with range on range of storehouses, each formed of a beautiful and delicate material, and constructed—though built in darkness, and the work of an humble insect—with the skill of an expert mathematician.

Not less admirable the wisdom with which, laboring without ceasing, they prepare for the approach of Winter. Long ere Autumn tints the woods, in the very height and heat of Summer, when nature, arrayed in her gayest attire, is robed in flowers, and food abounds, and they might pass the live-long day in a round of revels, they work and toil. No busier or more instructive sight than the door of a bee-hive—where, teaching us not to forget the cares of the future in the enjoyment of present pleasures, its tenants may be seen, from early morn to dewy eve, providing for a time when the flowers shall all be dead, and the earth, as if itself dead, lies cold and stiff, wrapped in a shroud of snow. Though in this the bees are directed by divine wisdom, such toils amid such a profusion of flowers and food would probably appear to a little child, were it to think of the matter, very useless; yet here, as in other and higher matters, experience teaches us that, to use words St. Paul applies to that preaching of the gospel which—for so the world goes round—many now, as in his time, affect to despise, the foolishness of God is wiser than man."—*Sunday Magazine.*

WE have called attention within a few days to the position of some of the early clergy of New England on the subject of negro slavery,—Hopkins, Edwards, Niles, etc. In a curious sermon preached by Cotton Mather in 1709, with the title *Theopolis Americana*, is a paragraph which we quote as an interesting addition to the citations previously made:

"To go as Pirates and Catch up poor *Negroes*, or People of another Land, that have never forfeited Life or Liberty, and to make them *Slaves*, and Sell them, is One of the worst kinds of Thieving in the World; and such Persons are to be taken for the common Enemies of Mankind; and they that buy them and use them as *Beasts*, for their mere Commodity, and betray, or destroy, or neglect their Souls, are fitter to be called *Incarnate Devils*, than *Christians*, tho' they be no *Christians* whom they so Abuse."

Of injustice to the Indians, he remarks in the same sermon:

"If there be any *English* People who are concerned with our *Christianized Indians*, but then take advantage of their *Ignorance* or their *Indigence*, or their unchristian *Love of the Bottle*, to decoy them into their *Debt*; and then use Indirect and Oppressive wages to Exact an *Unreasonable Satisfaction* from them, and *Sell* them for Servants, or *Send* them out of their Country; this Trade will be a Reproach to our *Christianity*, and I am sure it will be *Bitterness in the Latter End*."—*Boston Advertiser.*

SPEAKING OUT.—In the long run the habit of keeping back much of what he thinks acts destructively on the man himself. The practice dims his conscience, and alters his very creed. He suppresses so much that in the end he blots out part of himself, and hardly knows what he believes as a man, and what as a partisan. While the process of decline is going on, the man's utterances lack the warmth, the clear ring, the sharp edge, which we find in the ideas that come straight from the heart and brain. That is why partisan speeches sound so hollow. That is why the writing of able men in the leading columns even of the chief journals so often lack edge and distinctness, and seems the work of an intellectual machine, rather than of a living intellect. It is for the same reason that most men are so much smaller than Nature meant them to be. Nature meant them to be big and well formed; but they are stunted and disproportioned, because some of their faculties have never been exercised at all. They will not speak out, they will not say what they think; so they become like unto the thing they worship—the God of Corporate Action, whose gospel is that of Suppression, whose hymns are made up of abstract phrases punctuated with winks, and unto whose throne goes up, day and night, the incense of hypocrisy. Mr. Mill believes this lack of individuality to be the most dangerous sign in modern civilization. At least, if men would dare to lead the lives marked out for them by nature, they would speedily be very different from a race of mental and moral dwarfs. Keats spoke the truth under the veil of poetic exaggeration when he said that if each would express himself each would be great, and humanity would *be* "a grand democracy of forest trees."—*Fraser's Magazine.*

THE BEAUTIES OF COLD WEATHER.—In this intense cold, nature assumes varied and beautiful forms. The twigs of all the trees are feathered round with delicate, frost-down. The lakes and rivers are sheeted with ice, even where the waters run most rapidly. The beautiful cascade of Minnehaha, embalmed by Longfellow in poesy, is now environed with forests of spires and stalagmites, and aproned, far over, on either side, with a glassy mantle, while in the centre the silvery gleams of the water is still seen, breaking over the craggy brink, and plunging into the seething gulf below. A romantic couple were married there last Fourth of July. They might now return and twine their bridal favors from the wreaths of floating spray.

A few evenings since, a party went down from Minneapolis, and "illuminated" the falls. They went prepared with material for a strong calcium light, which was displayed from behind the sheet (the concave formation of the precipice, over which the water falls, allowing persons to pass round, under the brink and behind the flowing stream) with wonderful effect. The whole face of the cataract flowed with intense light, sprays of which shot hither and thither along the ice, studding it with glittering jewels—twice up the ragged spires, hanging on each of their million needle-points, a blazing star tumbled down with each globule of the foam-dashed water like showers of flashing diamonds—floated off, with each glowing feather of the freezing, whirling spray, streamed upwards and outwards reflected thus from each sparkling prism, until the little grotto was one radiant fairy scene of splendor.—*Minnesota.*

BE THOUGHTFUL TOWARD THY KIND.

THINK often: "Who may be enjoying now
The good I did him once?" And though 'twere only
The coat thou gavest a beggar; the warm room
Where now in Winter time poor children sit;
And if it glads thee—then do good again!
Yet think, too: "Who perhaps is suffering now
The ill I did him once?" And though 'twere only
The stone thou took'st not from the blind man's path,
The angry word a soft heart bore from thee!
And if that grieves thee—then do good again!
—*From the German of Leopold Schefer.*

SOUTHEY AND COLERIDGE.—I have passed through many changes of belief. Gibson shook my faith in Christianity when I was a school boy of seventeen. When I went to college it was in the height of the French Revolution, and I drank freely of that cup. Coleridge came from Cambridge to visit a friend at Oxford on his way to a journey in Wales. That friend was my bosom companion. Coleridge was brought to my rooms, and that meeting fixed the future fortunes of us both. Coleridge had at that time thought little of politics; in morals he was as loose as men at a university usually are; but he was a Unitarian. My morals were of the sternest stoicism; that same feeling which made me a poet kept me pure—before I had used Werther and Rousseau for Epictetus. Our meeting was mutually agreeable. I reformed his life, and he disposed me toward Christianity, by showing me that none of the arguments which had led me to renounce it were applicable against the Socinian scheme. He remained three or four weeks in Oxford, and we planned an Utopia of our own, to be founded in the wilds of America upon the basis of common property—each laboring for all—a pantisocracy—a republic of reason and virtue. For this dream I gave up every other prospect. How painfully and slowly I was awakened from it this is not the time to say.—*Southey.*

THE WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT of the *Independent* thus describes the President of the Senate:

His physical and mental temperament affords a striking contrast to the rest. At a first glance there is something rough, almost savage, in his aspect. As you gaze longer, you see only a face strong, earnest, brave, lit with a pair of melancholy eyes, whose far, deep gaze makes them look as if they had grown sad musing and marveling over the phenomena of man, the unsolved problem of human fate. Ben. Wade has a high, steep head; shaggy eyebrows, beetling from a perceptive brow, which half roofs without hiding the comprehensive eyes; a rough-hewn nose; a mouth resolute, even dogged; a broad, immovable chin. Life lines our faces according to its will, and one reads the history of the whole battle in the furrows left upon this one. Gazing on it, there is no need that he should tell us what a warfare life has been since the poor farmer-boy, more than half a century ago, turned his face from the Connecticut valley, and, striving with the very earth beneath his feet, dug his way toward the West, to fortune and a most honorable fame.

EFFECTIVE PREACHING.—In his address at the centennial celebration of the North Church in Newburyport, the venerable Dr. Withington gave an instance of effective preaching. The preacher was the Rev. Nathan Niles, who occupied the pulpit of that church on the 5th of June, 1774, and he "lifted up his voice against the law of slavery." Dr. Withington said:

"The remarkable effect of the sermon was this: One of the leading men of the congregation, as was very customary at that day, owned a black slave. The next morning after the sermon, I understand, he went to his slave and asked him if he would like to be free. 'Yes massa,' said the negro, 'I do want to be free.' 'Well, then,' said his master, 'You are free; after hearing that sermon and remembering that we are fighting for our liberties, I find it impossible to retain you in bondage if you want to be free.' Yet this sermon contained only one paragraph against slavery; 'How can we be consistent, how can we be indignant at the tyranny of Great Britain, when we are holding our fellow-creatures in bondage? 'For aught I know that black man was the first emancipated slave in the United States."

SUFFERING well borne is better than suffering removed. I know enough of gardening to understand that if I would have a tree grow upon its south side, I must cut off the branches there. Then all its forces go to repairing the injury, and twenty buds shoot out where otherwise there would have been but one. When we reach the garden above, we shall find that out of those very wounds over which we sighed and groaned on earth, have sprung verdant branches, bearing precious fruit, a thousand-fold.—*H. W. Beecher.*

PHOTOGRAPHY OF THE HEART.—A professor in Europe has invented an apparatus by means of which the beatings of the heart are not only registered, but photographed. The pulsations are made to act upon the surface of a bent tube containing mercury, the fluctuations of which are noted in the same way as those of the thermometer and barometer are photographed.

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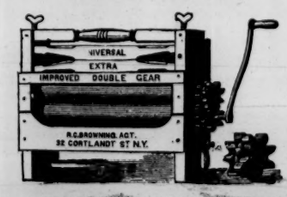

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